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THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

VOLUME I

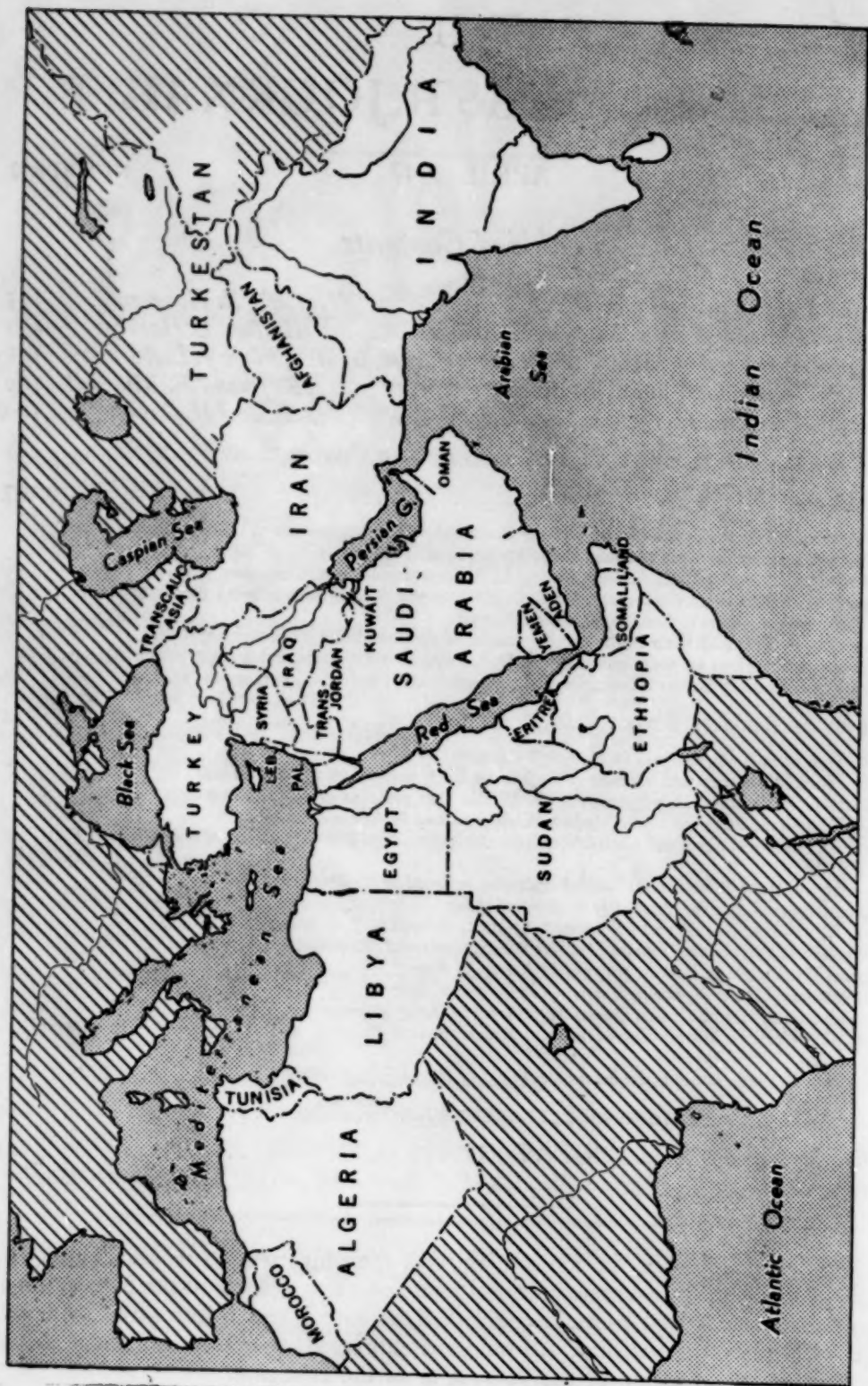
APRIL 1947

NUMBER 2

Table of Contents

The Arab League in Perspective	<i>Cecil A. Hourani</i> . . .	125
Background of the British Position in Arabia	<i>Halford L. Hoskins</i> . .	137
International Relations of Arabia: <i>The Dependent Areas</i>	<i>Herbert J. Liebesny</i> . .	148
Monetary Problems of Saudi Arabia	<i>Raymond F. Mikesell</i> . .	169
Ibn Saud's Program for Arabia	<i>Richard H. Sanger</i> . . .	180
DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY		191
DOCUMENTS		207 ✓
Protocol regarding the Sudan included in the Bevin-Sidqi Draft Agreement of October 1946. ✓		
Cultural Treaty of the Arab League, November 20, 1946.		
Statement on India by Dean Acheson, Acting U. S. Secretary of State, December 3, 1946.		
Statement of the British Government on India given at the close of talks between British Ministers and Indian leaders in London, December 6, 1946.		
Statement by Prime Minister Attlee on the transfer of power in India, February 20, 1947.		
A Statement of Views on India issued by the U. S. Department of State, February 25, 1947.		
Treaty of Friendship between Turkey and the Kingdom of Transjordan, January 11, 1947.		
REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS		214
Feis: <i>Seen from E. A.</i> , reviewed by <i>Herbert J. Liebesny</i>		
Allen: <i>Rural Education and Welfare in the Middle East</i> , reviewed by <i>Aff I. Tannous</i>		
Keen: <i>The Agricultural Development of the Middle East</i> , reviewed by <i>Aff I. Tannous</i>		
Jurji: <i>The Great Religions of the Modern World</i> , reviewed by <i>Edwin M. Wright</i>		
Arpee: <i>A History of Armenian Christianity from the Beginning to Our Own Time</i> , reviewed by <i>Robert P. Blake</i>		
Hoyningen-Huene & Robinson: <i>Baalbek-Palmyra</i> , reviewed by <i>C. Bradford Welles</i>		
Twitchell: <i>Saudi Arabia</i> , reviewed by <i>William A. Eddy</i>		
R. I. I. A.: <i>Great Britain and Palestine, 1915-1945</i> , reviewed by <i>J. C. Hurewitz</i>		
Kaznelson: <i>The Palestine Problem and Its Solution</i> , reviewed by <i>Samuel L. Sharp</i>		
Bisbee: <i>The People of Turkey</i> , reviewed by <i>Kerim K. Key</i>		
Akhilananda: <i>Hindu Psychology</i> , reviewed by <i>George W. Briggs</i>		
Prasad: <i>India's Hindu-Muslim Questions</i> , reviewed by <i>Jenny Poleman</i>		
I. L. O.: <i>Wartime Labour Conditions and Reconstruction Planning in India</i> , reviewed by <i>Sheldon Mills</i>		
Sandford: <i>Ethiopia under Haile Selassie</i> , reviewed by <i>Robert Gale Woolbert</i>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE		229
The Conference on Middle East Affairs		245

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The Middle East

THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

VOLUME I

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THE ARAB LEAGUE IN PERSPECTIVE

Cecil A. Hourani

I

IN ITS relation to recent Arab history, the Arab League is neither a beginning nor an end. It is neither a new idea which burst into being during the recent war, indicating some vital change in the course of Arab affairs, nor the culminating point of a long process beyond which there can be no further development or progress. The Arab League is rather a stage in a series of developments which is by no means ended. In relation to particular historical events, it may be regarded as the first important step in the dual process of Arab unification and liberation since the Arab Revolt of 1915. It is to some extent, indeed, a continuation of that unfulfilled revolution.

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The Arab movement, or the Arab awakening, as it has sometimes been called, may be defined as an effort to recreate and to reintegrate the Arab community; to bring this community once more into the larger community of active and creative societies; and thus to re-form a culture which is at once universal and Arab, modern and yet linked to the past. It is essentially a movement of synthesis; while on the one hand it seeks the liberation of Arab territories and states from foreign external domination, on the other it seeks no less unification on all levels within the Arab domain. The struggle for unity among the Arabs cannot be dissociated from their struggle for independence.

Throughout the four hundred years in which they formed part of the Ottoman Empire, the Arabs, although no longer sovereign in their own home, nevertheless preserved the sense of a community. They had a common past in which all Arabs shared and took pride. They had a common religion which was identified with the greatest period in Arab history and which had shaped the main outlines of Arab society and Arab character. They had a common language with a vast and splendid literature which could feed men's minds and keep them alive. They had a common framework of society and law, and a common way of life. These factors preserved the identity of the Arabs, and gave them both distinctness and the power of resistance to external pressure and disintegration.

At the beginning of the 19th century, when the forces of nationalism in the world came into their own, the Arabs had retained sufficient identity and self-consciousness to create their own movement for national independence. The different phases of its evolution have often been told; all that is necessary to point out is that the Arab League is only the latest in a chain of developments, the links of which include the creation of modern Egypt by Mohamed Ali; the rise of Wahhabism in central Arabia; the literary activities of the Syrians and Lebanese; the movement of Islamic modernism associated with the name of Muhammad Abdu; the Pan-Arab Conference of 1913 in Paris; the Arab Revolt of 1915 and its partial collapse in 1920; the Iraq Revolt of 1920; the Syrian Revolt of 1925-26; the Palestine Revolt of 1936; the Pan-Arab Conference of 1937; the Inter-Parlia-

mentary Conference in Cairo in 1938; and the 1939 Palestine Conference in London in which all the Arab governments participated.

The ease with which the outside world was able, at the end of World War I, to cut up the Arab countries into a number of different states was a symptom of Arab weakness, and this political division in turn created further weaknesses. The Ottoman regime, with all its defects, had preserved many of the externals of unity. If the Arab lands were dominated from without, it was from one center; and the compensation of inclusion in a large empire did something to offset the fragmentation of Arab society. The post-war political division of the Arab world had none of these compensations. It cut the Arabs off from each other physically, administratively, and economically. The existence of differing educational systems tended to produce different types of thinking. Arab youth was subjected to a variety of outside influences. To many Arab nationalists it appeared that the independence of a number of small and weak Arab states was bought at too heavy a price if it precluded permanently the possibility of their ultimate unification.

But while the post-1918 settlement split up the Arab world, all the forces of history, both internal and external, were working in the opposite direction. The revolution in transportation and communication brought about by the automobile, railway, and airplane drew every part of the Arab domain closer together. The old ties of blood and kinship, trade and grazing, were suddenly strengthened. The communication of ideas led to the growth of common interests. The printing presses of Cairo and Beirut supplied reading matter to the whole Arab world and fostered common ways of thinking and writing. The radio went one step further and had a tremendous effect not only upon the communication of ideas and knowledge, but even on the language of daily life. The growing Arab film industry in Egypt is producing the same result. The telephone, telegraph, and airplane brought every corner of the Arab domain within easy reach of one administrative center; today there is no important city of the Arab world which cannot be reached from any other in a single day.

At the same time the nations of the outside world were being

aligned in powerful groups, and the fate of small nations seemed precarious. Together, the Arab lands constituted a significant bloc; individually, they counted for scarcely anything. The creation of an Arab League was thus a natural expression of trends which were already present and which could not be denied eventual fruition.

II

The immediate impetus for the formation of the Arab League may be found in the initiative taken by Prime Minister Nuri Pasha al-Said of Iraq which led eventually to the signature of the Pact of the Arab League in Cairo in March 1945. At the end of 1942 Nuri al-Said compiled what has come to be known as the "Blue Book," which was printed in Baghdad in 1943 but never published. The "Blue Book" consisted of a covering letter to Mr. Casey, then British Minister of State in Cairo, a "Note on Arab independence and unity with particular reference to Palestine," and a number of pertinent documents.

There were two principal ideas behind the proposals Nuri al-Said set forth. The one was that the formation of a Greater Syria, and its union with Iraq in a league, would help to solve the problem of Palestine by reducing the fears of the Arabs of Palestine that they might one day become a minority, and by increasing their ability to resist Zionism through incorporation in a larger political entity. The other was that Arab unity should be based upon a union of those countries which were closest in their general political and social conditions, i.e. the countries of the Fertile Crescent; and that such a union would be strongest if it began by being small and cohesive. In order to achieve such an Arab union, he emphasized that "sacrifices of sovereignty and vested interests may have to be made."

The Arab league envisaged by Nuri al-Said did not, however, come into existence. To many Arab nationalists there appeared a number of defects and dangers in his proposals. Although he argued that by inclusion in a wider unit the dangers of Zionism in Palestine would be diminished, it was also arguable that the contrary might be true: that the Zionist movement, so far from being

checked, might be given the opportunity to expand. In a Greater Syria it would be impossible to discriminate between Arab and Jewish citizens, and the Jewish population could not be prevented from extending its economic roots over a much wider area than previously. Moreover, the proposal that the Maronites of Mount Lebanon might revert to their pre-1914 status, although it might have allayed the fears of some Christians that they would be "swallowed up" in an Arab Moslem state, nevertheless revived all the disadvantages of the old regime — the limitation of opportunity which had forced so many of the inhabitants of the Mountain to emigrate in the past, the feeling of separation and distinction which a special regime inevitably gave them, and the encouragement of outside loyalties — without providing any new or positive advantages. Finally, many Arab nationalists believed that it would be unwise and impracticable to distinguish between different Arab countries on the grounds of their "similarity" or "nearness" to each other, and in particular that it would be unwise to found a league of which Egypt should not be a member at the beginning. It might then be difficult to induce Egypt to join later; moreover, in the eyes of these nationalists Egypt would give an international status and strength to a league which the countries of the Fertile Crescent alone could not.

In the outcome the Arab League was formed, not as Nuri al-Said had at first envisaged it, but on a more general and looser pattern, and with Egypt taking the lead. This was due on the one hand to the prevalence of the views enumerated above, and on the other hand to the fact that during World War II Cairo had become the most accessible and the most internationally important of the Arab capitals. This latter fact was the natural result of Cairo's location on vital routes of communication and its role in the military strategy of the democratic powers. The passage of leadership to Cairo was facilitated by the temporary overshadowing of Iraq's sovereignty after the Rashid Ali revolt of 1941, and the then still undefined and only partially independent status of Syria and Lebanon.

Accordingly the next step in the creation of the Arab League was taken by Mustafa Nahhas Pasha, then Prime Minister of Egypt, who was urged by Nuri al-Said and other Arab national-

ists to invite the various Arab governments to send representatives to Cairo to discuss the possibility and desirability of calling a general Arab conference. Nahhas Pasha discussed the matter with Nuri al-Said in July and August 1943; with Tawfiq Abd al-Huda, Prime Minister of Transjordan, in August and September; with Yusuf Yassin, personal representative of Ibn Saud, in October; with Saadullah Jabri, Prime Minister of Syria, in October and November; with Riad al-Sulh, Prime Minister of Lebanon, in January, 1944; and with Sayyid Husayn Kibsi, representative of the Imam of Yemen, in February.

There was sufficient unanimity of opinion among all those who took part in the Cairo conversations to induce Nahhas Pasha to call a general Arab conference, which met at the Antoniadès Palace in Alexandria from September 25th to October 8th, 1944. In addition to representatives of the Governments of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen, a representative of the Arabs of Palestine, Musa al-Alami, took part in the conference on a footing of complete equality with other members.

The Alexandria Conference formulated what has come to be known as the "Alexandria Protocol," which delineated the outlines of an Arab League.¹ The Protocol characterized the participants in the Conference as "desirous of ascertaining the close relations and the numerous bonds which unite all the Arab peoples; anxious to strengthen these bonds and to direct them toward the well-being of them all to improve their situation, to insure their future and realize their aspirations; and answering the appeal of public opinion through the Arab world." The proposed Arab League was to be composed of those independent Arab states which wished to join it. It was to have a Council which would meet periodically to execute agreements reached by the states among themselves, to co-ordinate their political programs, and "generally to watch over the affairs and interests of the Arab peoples." The decisions of this Council were to be binding upon those states which accepted them, except in cases where conflict had arisen between two member states, which would then have to

¹ The Arabic text of the Alexandria Protocol was published in *Al-Ahram* (Cairo), October 8, 1944, p. 3.

accept the Council's decisions. The use of force to settle disputes between member states was to be forbidden.

As for the relations of members of the League with the external world, the Protocol laid down that a member state would have the right to make agreements with other states in or out of the League so long as such agreements were not contrary to the text or the spirit of the League's constitution. It went on to make the very important proviso that "in no case would a state be permitted to pursue a foreign policy which could be detrimental to the policy of the League or to any of its member states."

The Protocol provided for close co-operation between member states on economic, cultural, and social problems, and recommended the setting up of commissions of experts in each field to elaborate programs of joint action. The Protocol then went on to envisage still closer ties between the Arab states in the future.

Two special annexes of the Protocol dealt with Lebanon and Palestine. The first reaffirmed the respect of the Arab states for the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon within its present borders. The second declared that the rights of the Arabs of Palestine could not be touched without affecting the peace and stability of the Arab world as a whole. Promises made by Great Britain to end Jewish immigration, to safeguard Arab land, and to lead Palestine toward independence constituted a recognition of Arab rights, and the Protocol pressed for their execution; in other words, it accepted the principles although not the details of the 1939 White Paper. The Arab nations pledged their full support to the cause of the Arabs of Palestine.

It is probable that in spite of its supersession later by the actual Pact of the Arab League, the Alexandria Protocol will continue to play an important role in the movement for Arab unity, and tend to be looked back to and appealed to by Arab nationalists in the future. Its importance may be summarized under a number of headings:

It was a strongly *popular* document, appealing constantly to "public opinion throughout the Arab world," "the Arab peoples," and "the Arab nation." It was thus infused with the spirit of popular Pan-Arabism.

It recognized that the proposed League was only a first step

toward a still closer union which should keep pace with the trend of events in the world in general. It thus did not envisage that the League would cease to evolve, but that it would develop in accordance with the internal situation in the Arab world and general progress toward unity, and the tendency in the outside world toward the formation of larger regional groupings.

It envisaged a common orientation of the Arab countries toward the outside world. They were to face in one direction only, and not maintain divergent foreign policies or fall within different spheres of influence. The immediate significance of this concept was to preclude the possibility of Syria's and Lebanon's concluding treaties with France which would give it a special position unless all the Arab countries were to do likewise. It was this aspect of the Protocol which more than any other perhaps aroused the suspicion of the French and fostered the belief among them that the League was a British "trick" to get them out of the Levant.

By recognizing the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon within its present borders, the Protocol attempted to show to certain sections of the Lebanese that Lebanon was accepted as an equal member of the Arab comity of states, and that the League was in no way directed against Lebanese independence. The secular and non-religious nature of Arab nationalism was thus indirectly affirmed by the Protocol.

Finally, the Protocol made the problem of Palestine once and for all the responsibility of the whole Arab world, and thus incorporated into more permanent form the precedent set by the St. James Conference of 1939.

Between the publication of the Alexandria Protocol and the creation of the Arab League in Cairo in March 1945, governmental and constitutional changes took place in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan. Partly as a result of these changes, partly as a result of hesitation on the part of some Arab governments, the Pact of the League, although following in general the lines laid down by the Protocol, was in some respects a less strong document, and safeguarded more carefully and more specifically the sovereignty of the member states.² Whereas the Protocol had

² The Pact of the Arab League has been published in English by the Arab Office, Washington, D.C. For an unofficial translation, see also the *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 39, no. 4 (October 1945), Supplement, pp. 266-72.

envisaged a progressively increasing surrender of sovereignty, the Pact lays emphasis on its retention. For example, the prologue, after the statement "desirous of strengthening the close relations and numerous ties which link the Arab states and anxious to support and strengthen these ties," adds the phrase "upon a basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of these states." The Pact omits the clause of the Protocol which stated that "In no case will a state be permitted to pursue a foreign policy which could be detrimental to the policy of the League or to any of its member states." It also omits Article 3 of the Protocol looking toward a further degree of unity in the future, but specifies that states will co-operate "with due regard to the organization and circumstances of each state." Finally, the Pact specifically binds each member state not to interfere in the systems of government of the others, whereas the Protocol had no such clause.

A further important respect in which the Pact differs from the Protocol is the omission of the guarantee of Lebanon's independence in view of the fact that the Pact already contained sufficient guarantees of the sovereignty of all the member states. The Pact, however, contains a special annex recognizing Palestine as *de jure* independent, and allowing it to participate in the work of the Council. This stand was in conformity with public opinion in the Arab world, which would not have regarded the League as complete without the inclusion of Palestine. Another annex provides for the participation of non-independent Arab countries in the work of the committees of the League, and pledges the League to work for the interests of these countries "with all the political means at its disposal." The reference clearly is to the countries of North Africa under foreign rule.

III

How does the Arab League stand in relation to the Arab nationalist movement? There is general agreement among Arab nationalists that a league is necessary, but there is not complete agreement as to whether the present Arab League constitutes the best method of achieving the desired goal.

There are three main schools of thought concerning the present form of the Arab League. One holds that by preserving intact the

sovereignty of the member states, the League tends to preserve special interests and to crystallize into permanent form the present political divisions; and that by providing at least the skeleton of union it may tend to satisfy many Arabs that the goal has been reached. This school of thought would have preferred the immediate establishment of a federation of Arab states or even a unitary state.

Another group argues that a closer union than the League provides should have been formed, and that if it could not have been formed of all the Arab States, it should have been formed by the union of those states which were willing to give up their sovereignty. It is generally agreed that the only two states which might have taken such a step are Syria and Iraq.

A third, and perhaps the largest school of thought argues that the inclusion of all the independent Arab States in the League, and its consequent *international* status, more than compensates for any other disadvantages. This group believes that since the League has been formed in its present shape there can be no radical change, but that its existing possibilities should be exploited to the full.

The League, as it stands, represents a victory for moderate Arab nationalism; that is, for the view that at the present time it is impossible to establish a single Arab state, and that union can only come as a result of evolution and a gradual surrender of sovereignty. It also represents a victory for secular liberalism in Arab thought. The League is sometimes accused by ill-wishers of being reactionary, xenophobic, Pan-Islamic. An examination both of the actions of the League and of the personalities who created it is a sufficient refutation of these charges. The framers of the League were men brought up in the tradition of 19th century liberalism, not in the tradition of the Pan-Islamic movement which has long ceased to be an effective force in Arab politics, if indeed it ever was, nor in the tradition of 20th century totalitarian movements. The ideas of Mazzini express perhaps better than any others the dominant concepts of the Arab nationalist spirit incorporated into the League.

However, the Arab League, while it is not reactionary, xenophobic, or extreme, is inevitably Pan-Arab. Prof. H. A. R. Gibb

has made a distinction between what he calls moderate Arab nationalism and Pan-Arabism. "Pan-Arabism," he says, "is an ignorant, intolerant, explosive force."³ But this distinction is not a valid one. In every movement there are people and sections which are "ignorant, intolerant, explosive." But the very nature of any Arab nationalism is such that it cannot help embracing within its scope the whole Arab world. There is no good reason why an Arab nationalist should be interested in the freedom and unification of part of the Arab world and not of the whole; or draw the frontiers of the Arab world at Libya. And thus inevitably the League, both by its own constitution and by the forces which move it, must interest itself in the liberation of the entire Arab world. There may be differences among Arab nationalists about the order of importance of certain Arab questions, but there is no disagreement about fundamental aims, which cannot stop short of the entire Arab world from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, and which embrace all levels of Arab society — the social, economic, and intellectual no less than the political.

But in saying that Arab nationalism as embodied in the Arab League is Pan-Arabism, it should not be understood that there is any comparison with or resemblance to such movements as Pan-Germanism or Pan-Slavism. There is a radical difference between Arab and European political ideology. In Europe nationalism has been built on two concepts: that of the state inherited from the traditions of Roman law and society; and that of a homogeneous racial group. Arab nationalism is based on neither. On the one hand, Arab society was not based on the Greco-Roman political tradition, and has never had a concept of a strong sovereign state. On the other, Arab society has never been exclusively racial, but has consisted of racially and religiously heterogeneous groups bound together by a common Arabic culture and world of thought. It is thus dangerous to compare conditions in Arab countries with conditions in Western societies.

The failure to grasp the heterogeneous character of Arab society is responsible for the underestimation made by many Western "experts" of the strength of Arab unity. Even Robert

³ H. A. R. Gibb, "The Future for Arab Unity," *The Near East: Problems and Prospects*, Philip W. Ireland, ed. (Chicago, 1942), p. 93.

Montagne can say that "Iraq is only a conglomeration of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities." ⁴ There is a general tendency for Western political theorists to regard all Arab society in this way and to disbelieve in the possibility of any real union among the Arabs. A deeper study and understanding of the roots of Arab society is thus increasingly urgent if we are to understand the relationship of political structures such as the Arab League to the general movement of ideas and social development in the Arab countries, or to appreciate correctly how deeply rooted the idea of the Arab League is in the minds of the Arab people.

⁴ Robert Montagne, "L'Union Arabe," *Politique Étrangère*, 11^e année, nr. 2 (April-May 1946), p. 181.

BACKGROUND OF THE BRITISH POSITION IN ARABIA

Halford L. Hoskins

THE STRIKING career of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud and the dramatic entry of Saudi Arabia into United Nations, the emergence of the Arab League, of which Saudi Arabia is an influential member, and the potentialities of American oil and mining interests in the Peninsula all have combined to give Arabia an unaccustomed place in the limelight. These factors alone might serve to justify a glance in retrospect at the circumstances under which certain of the characteristic features of the present international position of the Arabian Peninsula came about. If additional justification were needed, it might readily be found in the fundamental change inherent in the gradual slipping of Great Britain's hold over Arabia, an area which, to all intents and purposes, has been a closed and jealously guarded British preserve for well over a century.

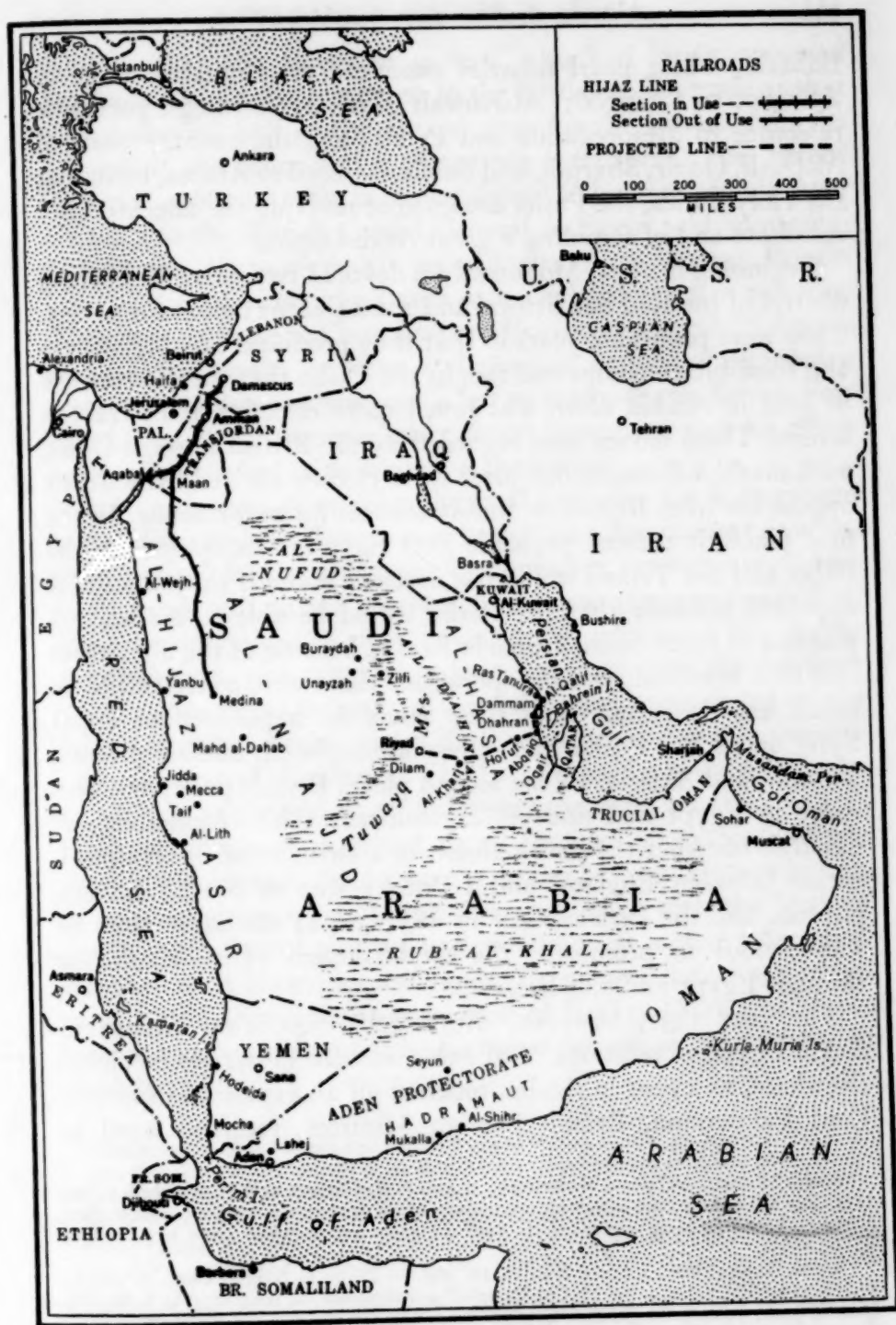
As successor to the evanescent Portuguese, Dutch, and French spheres of control about the perimeter of the Arabian Sea, the British tentatively extended their influence into the Persian Gulf at the close of the seventeenth century and began to extend searching tentacles into the Red Sea in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These early beginnings were followed up only in desultory fashion for a number of years and might have

▼ HALFORD L. HOSKINS, Director and organizer of The Middle East Institute, is Director of the School of Advanced International Studies. He served as Consultant on Near Eastern matters in the Department of State during the late war and is the author of several books and numerous articles relating to the Middle East.

amounted to little of significance for a much longer period but for the introduction of new factors into the situation — notably, challenges by France and Russia and the rise of steam navigation. These profoundly affected British policy all along the line between the British Isles and India. Since it will throw some interesting light on the present situation in Arabia, it may be worth while to note in rather brief outline the principal events which led to the British sealing-off of the Arabian Peninsula from the outer world for about a hundred years.

Prior to the third decade of the nineteenth century, British authorities were little concerned about conditions in Arabia proper. A fairly consistent pro-Turkish policy served ordinarily to provide political defenses on the west and north, and intervention in the affairs of Persia contrived to counteract French and Russian designs on the north and east. Trade with Arabia did not reach large proportions and the chaos prevailing inside the arid and sparsely-populated Peninsula served to discourage penetration into the interior. Shortly after 1830, however, two simultaneous developments brought Arabia prominently to British attention. One was a series of projects for the opening up of a route of regular communication between England and India along one or the other of two natural highways: one traversing Egypt, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Arabia; the other Syria, the rivers of Mesopotamia, and the Persian Gulf. Either of these lines bounded two of the dimensions of the great Arabian quadrilateral. The other new influence was the decision of the puissant Viceroy of Egypt, Mohamed Ali Pasha, to pursue his cherished ambition of obtaining independence from the Ottoman Porte by extending his domination over the whole of Arabia.

While the great heart of Arabia was of slight economic value, its position gave it importance with reference to the Pasha's plans. Its control would secure the flank of his Syrian territories, acquired during the years 1831-33. Its warlike tribes would provide a recruiting ground for his growing military establishment. Besides, it was proximate both to Mocha and the coffee country of the Yemen and to Aden, gate to the Red Sea. From the highlands bordering the Red Sea it sloped eastward toward rich Persian Gulf ports: Muscat, seat of a considerable trade with India;



The Arabian Peninsula

Bahrein, whose pearl fisheries produced an annual revenue of £300,000 to £400,000;¹ Al-Kuwait (Grane), a strategic port with reference to Mesopotamia and Persia; and the country ports of Al-Qatif, Oqair, Sharjah, and Sohar. As Lord of Arabia, including the Holy Cities, the Pasha dreamed of reviving the ancient Arab caliphate and of founding a great Arab empire.

Beginning in 1834, Mohamed Ali devoted two years to securing control of the Red Sea littoral and the adjacent mountain passes. They were profitable years in that they produced capable officers and hard-bitten troops and taught the Pasha that the discreet use of gold in Arabia often was much more effective than trained armies. These moves were regarded by the British Foreign Office with marked distaste, but prior to 1837 they elicited little direct opposition from British or Indian sources for two reasons. In the first place, it seemed probable that Egyptian campaigns in the Hijaz and the Yemen would not succeed. Even if they should, it appeared unlikely that the Pasha would be able to maintain a position of much consequence in Arabia because of the difficulties and cost involved, and his operations there were conceived to be much less dangerous than they would be if pursued in upper Syria or, as the Pasha had once contemplated, in Tripolitania, Tunisia, and Algeria. In the second place, British policy with respect to Egypt had not yet crystallized. While Mohamed Ali dared to obstruct the development of a British line of communication between England and India by way of Syria, the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf in 1835-36, at the same time he was zealous in promoting the establishment of a British line through Egypt and the Red Sea.²

The year 1837, however, witnessed a significant change in Anglo-Egyptian relations. While this was due in part to incidents elsewhere, an event in Arabia touched off an explosive situation. Lord Palmerston, British Foreign Minister, received word in

¹ British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 36,470: F. R. Chesney to William Cabell, 3 Jan., 1839. Only a few of the more significant materials on which this paper is based are cited in these footnotes. Very little of the account of the Anglo-Egyptian contest briefly given here has been related before.

² British Foreign Office, 195/113, Nos. 22, 28: Maj. R. Taylor to Bombay Govt., 10 and 14 March, 1834; F.O. 195/119, No. 28; Col. Campbell to Palmerston, 14 June, 1834; U. S. Department of State, Consular Despatches, Cyprus, Alexandria, Stancho, No. 1: Gliddon to Forsyth, 8 Dec., 1834; H. L. Hoskins, *British Routes to India* (New York, 1928), pp. 165, 166, 211, *passim*.

January that the Egyptian general who had lately occupied Mocha had put a complete stop to the British coffee trade at that port, reserving half of the annual crop for the Pasha of Egypt and selling the other half to American interlopers. This placed Egyptian rule in Arabia in a new light.³ Palmerston in a heated dispatch to the British Consul General in Egypt said pointedly: "Mohamed Ali is distinctly to understand that Great Britain will not permit either the Pasha or his subordinates to continue this system of universal hostilities to British commerce."⁴ Apologies for the Mocha incident and positive denials of aggressive designs in Arabia or elsewhere failed to convince the British Foreign Office of the Viceroy's beneficent intentions and his every move was watched with suspicion thereafter.

During the first three years the total Egyptian forces employed in the Hijaz and the Yemen numbered but a few thousands of inferior troops.⁵ During the year 1837, however, extensive reinforcements were sent to the Peninsula and new vigor was manifest. Soon the operations of three large armies achieved a fair degree of correlation: one operating along the Euphrates not far from Baghdad; another, the army of central Arabia commanded by the shrewd Kurshid Pasha; and a third whose objective was the rich coffee country of the Yemen. The Hijaz passed wholly into Egyptian hands at the end of 1837. During the early months of 1838, Egyptian influence extended to all confines of Arabia and the Viceroy's intrigues already were reaching beyond. He was known to be conducting a significant correspondence with the Shah of Persia indicative of a secret understanding at a time when, presumably with Russian connivance, Persia was launching an attack on the Indian frontier fortress of Herat. There was ample reason, too, to believe that he harbored designs on the pashalik of Baghdad.⁶

³ British India Office, Factory Records, Persian and Persian Gulf, v. 57: Lynch to Ponsonby, ? Aug., 1837. The Factory Records of the British India Office contain a great deal of detail relating to the subject matter of this paper.

⁴ F. O. 78/318, No. 2: Palmerston to Campbell, 31 Jan., 1837.

⁵ René Cattau Bey, *Le Règne de Mohamed Aly d'après les Archives Russes en Égypte* (Cairo, 1931), II (1), 17; Duhamel à Nesselrode, 30 Jan., 1834; II (2), 135, 136, 185: 20 Sept., 16 Dec., 1836.

⁶ Cattau, *op. cit.*, II (2), 479, 485; Bakty à Duhamel, 4 and 14 Oct., 1837; I. O., Fac. Recs., Per. & Per. G., v. 57: McNeill to Palmerston, 31 Aug., 1837; Lynch to Ponsonby, ? Aug., 1837; v. 58:

The conquest of Arabia, therefore, ceased to appear as the vain wastage of men and treasure in an arid land and took on the aspect of far-sighted policy. Guessing shrewdly at the Viceroy's real purposes and finding them inconsistent with British policy, the Foreign Office moved to defeat them. The contest was waged simultaneously on all the confines of the Peninsula. Having compelled Mohamed Ali to abandon Urfa on the upper Euphrates at the end of 1834 by supporting Turkish claims, the British and Indian governments undertook a joint steam "survey" of the rivers of Mesopotamia during the years 1835-37, ostensibly to open up trade and communication between England and India but more seriously to scotch any moves of the Egyptians and Russians, suspected of being in collusion, on that front. In 1838 the Government of India sent three new iron steamers to Basra, whence they operated, principally on the Tigris, to maintain the authority of the Sultan of Turkey and to discourage Egyptian activities in lower Mesopotamia and in the Persian Gulf area.⁷

In May 1838, while the Persian siege of Herat was in progress, the Government of India prepared a naval expedition for operations in the Persian Gulf. This force, led by the steam frigate *Semiramis*, which had just come out from England, left Bombay in June, touched at Muscat, paused at the Persian port of Bushire, and seized and occupied the island of Karrack, commanding both the Persian and Arabian coasts.⁸ Fearful lest this foreshadow a similar occupation of Arabian ports, Mohamed Ali strained every resource in speeding up his Arabian program. Before the end of 1838, Sheikh Faysal Ibn Turki Ibn Saud, chief of the Wahhabis, had submitted and even ceded his territorial holdings to Mohamed Ali.⁹ Egyptian forces, said to number 17,000, already were

Campbell to Palmerston, 1 Nov., 1837; A. G. Politis, *Le Conflit Turco-Égyptien de 1838-1841* (Cairo, 1931), p. 19: trans. of a communication from Ahmed Pasha to Hussein Pasha, 29 May, 1838.

⁷ I. O., Fac. Recs., Per. & Per. G., v. 68: Ponsonby to Palmerston, 8 Apr., 1840; Hoskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182, 269, 275.

⁸ C. R. Low, *History of the Indian Navy* (2 vols., London, 1877), II, pp. 99 ff.; *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, XXVI, N. S., Pt. II, pp. 285, 276.

⁹ F.O. 78/342, No. 35: Campbell to Palmerston, 21 May, 1838; F.O. 78/374, No. 34, 18 May, 1839; "Rapport de . . . Khourchid Pasha . . .", 31 Dec., 1838, in Félix Mengin, *Histoire Sommaire de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1839), pp. 478-481. Mengin gives a detailed but highly colored account of all the Egyptian operations in Arabia, interesting because contemporaneous, and based in part on sources no longer available.

drawing supplies from Bahrein and Kuwait and were threatening Lahsa and Al-Qatif. Similar successes marked 1839. As the Egyptians progressed in the Najd, long standing feuds among the Bedouins of the interior were lifted and blood enemies vied with one another in displays of loyalty to the great Pasha. The coastal chiefs hesitated, mindful of their trade with India and the prowess of the Indian Navy; but Egyptian armies were near, while the English were far away and doubtful allies at best. Faced with the alternatives of ruthless conquest or of voluntary submission on easy terms, these petty princes chose the easier course and threw in their lot with the invader. For a brief period Mohamed Ali's dream of an Arab empire was all but realized.

Even before the occupation of the Persian Gulf littoral was complete, the unsubstantial character of the Egyptian scheme was indicated by the irrevocable loss of the strategic town and port of Aden, much coveted by the British for its excellent harbor, its nearness to the coffee country, and its admirable location on the new steam route to Suez. The occasion for its occupation arose from the plundering of an Indian trading vessel in January 1837, by the Sultan of Lahej, ruler of Aden.¹⁰ Although a year later the Sultan felt constrained — not so much by a British Indian sloop-of-war in his harbor as by the significant proximity of an Egyptian force — to sign an equivocal document transferring the town and port to the Government of India in return for protection, he soon came under the influence of Egyptian agents and disavowed his treaty. Presently, on direct orders from London, Aden was taken by storm (January 16, 1839), and at once became a regular port of call on the Bombay-Suez line.¹¹

The capture of Aden was a severe blow to the fondest hopes of the Viceroy. His misfortune lay not so much in failure to take over the whole of Arabia as in the knowledge that his Arabian scheme, which was to have supported his bid for a British alliance,

¹⁰ I.O., Fac. Recs., Per. & Per. G., v. 58: Campbell to Palmerston, 1 Nov., 1837; *Parliamentary Paper*, 1839, No. 268, pp. 5-7. A detailed account of the incident is given in Hoskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-206.

¹¹ I.O., Fac. Recs., Egypt and Red Sea, v. 10; Boghos Youssouff to Campbell, 24 Mar., 1838; v. 11: Bombay Govt. to Campbell, 25 Apr., 1838; F.O. 78/345: Bowring to Palmerston, 22 May, 17 June, 1838; Egyptian Archives, Ordinance Books, 24 Saffar, 1255 (10 May, 1839); Victor Fontanier, *Voyage dans l'Inde et le Golfe Persique* . . . (2 pts. in 3 vols., Paris, 1844-46), II, pp. 167, 168.

was proving to be a major factor in alienating British official sentiment. He had gone too far to retreat voluntarily, however, and the Aden incident moved powerfully in turning the tide from the temporizing of the middle years of the decade toward the armed clash with which it closed.¹²

Mohamed Ali's determination to carry on was advertised by significant military moves in Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. Even while British Indian forces were occupying Aden, the sheikhs of Sohar and Sharjah succumbed to Egyptian pressure. The successful completion of the Egyptian campaign in the Yemen followed. In March 1839, Rear Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland arrived in the Persian Gulf with a flotilla to lend moral support to wavering chieftains. He found the port towns of Al-Qatif and Oqair already in Egyptian hands and the chief of Bahrein, although separated from the mainland by fourteen miles of water, inclined to recognize Egyptian overlordship. Even the Imam of Muscat, Sultan Abubik Ibn Said, long a protégé of the East India Company, was wavering in his attachment.¹³ Without further loss of time, Admiral Maitland despatched the British Resident in the Gulf, Major Samuel Hennell, to various of the danger spots in an effort to resist Egyptian pressure. Spurred by the imminent loss of the Oman and Al-Hasa districts, Hennell hastened to embark in the ten-year-old steamer *Hugh Lindsay* for a tour of the principal Gulf ports, arguing, chiding, threatening as he proceeded. Everywhere he found the Arab princes certain of the strength of Egyptian forces and doubtful of the willingness of Britain to give actual assistance against the Pasha. Hennell was compelled to find in his meager instructions authorization for giving written pledges of British support, but he remained con-

¹² Mohamed Ali insisted that Aden was his by virtue of a *firman* from the Ottoman Porte authorizing him to take possession of the Yemen some ten years earlier. This *firman* apparently never had been recalled. The British argued that Aden did not constitute a part of the Yemen, a matter on which reputable authorities did not agree. I.O., Fac. Recs., Per. & Per. G., vol. 64: Campbell to Palmerston, 8 Apr., 1839, with enclosure from Commander Stafford B. Haines, who commanded the force which occupied Aden.

¹³ F.O. 54/3, Persian Dept., Indian Govt. News, 24 Feb., 1839: Maitland at Bushire, 20 Mar., 1839; I.O., Fac. Recs. Per. & Per. G., v. 64: Taylor to E. I. House, 4 and 8 Apr., 1839; Hennell to E. I. House, 21 Mar., 2 Apr., 1839. Rather more than a year previously the Imam, upon receiving a gift of the armed vessel *Prince Regent* from the British Royal Navy, had vowed everlasting friendship to British interests: F.O. 54/2: the Imam to King William IV, enclos. No. 3 in Cogan's desp. to Carnac, 5 Jan., 1838.

vinced that British influence in eastern Arabia would vanish permanently, unless by good fortune the Egyptians should be beaten in the impending clash with Turkish armies in Syria.¹⁴

The Government of India, while arming the Arabs against the Egyptians, was loath to employ such means of combating Mohamed Ali as would imperil the new overland route through Egypt, rapidly becoming indispensable with improvements in steam navigation. "So long as Mohamed Ali does not impede the transit through Egypt," wrote the discerning American Consul in Cairo, George R. Gliddon, "the British will preserve the *status quo*; but the British will not again return to the Cape alone; and what is now a petty trickle will in a few years be an overwhelming torrent, and Egypt seems destined to become a province of the British realm."¹⁵

The British Foreign Office was less concerned with insuring the operation of a new route of communication than with disciplining a rebellious Turkish Pasha who, by overweening and unauthorized aggression, had produced a situation extremely dangerous not only to British interests in the Middle East but also to the peace of Europe. Consequently, on receipt of further alarming advices from the Persian Gulf, stating that the Sheikh of Bahrein had become tributary to Egypt, that demands had been made on the Sheikh of Basra, and that Egyptian forces were making every effort to dislodge the British from Aden, an ultimatum was sent to Mohamed Ali stating that his move in Arabia would be resisted by force of arms.¹⁶

Suddenly these portentous moves in Arabia were all but eclipsed by events nearer Europe. Early in May 1839, despite the remonstrances of the Powers, the Turks gave battle to Egyptian forces at Nézib in Syria and were utterly routed. The road to Constantinople was open to the Egyptian Viceroy. The consternation with which this news was received in European capitals and

¹⁴ I. O., Fac. Recs., Per. & Per. G., v. 64: Hennell to E. I. House, 22 Apr., 1839; v. 65: Hennell to Sheikh of Bahrein, 25 June, 1839, and to Bombay Govt., 4 and 10 July, 1839; Brit. Mus., Add. Mss., 36,470, Secret letters from the Governor General (of India), dated 20 June, 18, 31 July, 1839.

¹⁵ U. S. Dept. of State, Cons. Desp., Cyprus, Alexandria, Stancho, No. 4: Gliddon to Forsyth, 16 Nov., 1838.

¹⁶ F. O. 78/372, No. 10: Palmerston to Campbell, 11 May, 1839; No. 17, 15 June, 1839; I. O., Fac. Recs., Per. & Per. G., v. 64: Taylor to E. I. House, 4 Apr., 1839; v. 65: Hennell to Sheikh of Bahrein, 25 June, 1839.

the crisis which resulted are well known and need not here be recounted. Suffice it to say that, in the hope of exploiting the Turkish situation to the full, Mohamed Ali began the gradual withdrawal of his forces from Arabia, while making every effort to maintain a bargaining position there. Egyptian pressure was still strong in the vicinity of Baghdad and in Oman at Muscat months later.

By July 1840, developments in Arabia began to favor the British. The Imam of Muscat definitely returned to the British fold by ratifying a treaty of friendship and commerce previously drawn up at his island possession of Zanzibar.¹⁷ The smaller Arabian chiefs, keenly sensitive to any shifting of balance, now found British promises of naval protection adequate and hastened to give substantial assurances of esteem to their protectors. The sudden appearance of armed French vessels in Arabian waters at this juncture did nothing to lessen the zeal of British agents in concluding or reaffirming treaty agreements with all of the coastal sheikhs in eastern Arabia, most of which, variously amended, are still in force.¹⁸ Similar developments marked the withdrawal of Egyptian troops from the Yemen and from the Hijaz. By August 1840, Arabia had been evacuated except for a body of irregulars left to guard the Holy Cities. Faced with the united forces of a European alliance which even France dared not challenge, Mohamed Ali's armies, his navy, his diplomatic system, his conquests, and his control of the British overland route through Egypt were of no avail. The Allied bombardment of Beirut in September and the surrender of the great fortress of Acre in November forced the Viceroy "to withdraw into his original shell of Egypt."

Beyond the zones of British influence — very considerably widened and strengthened as a result of the late events — Arabia relapsed into the chaos from which it had been partially lifted for a brief span of years. Internally it remained for the outer world *terra incognita* for another century. During that interval Arabia,

¹⁷ I. O., Fac. Recs., Per. & Per. G., v. 69: Hennell to E. I. House, 25 July, 1840. The treaty negotiated at Zanzibar, 31 May, 1839, was signed and ratified at Muscat, 25 July, 1840.

¹⁸ C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries* (8 vols., Calcutta, 1876-78), VII, pp. 146, 150, 155, 161, 162, 169, *et passim*.

still nominally a part of the Ottoman Empire until the close of World War I, was more truly a part of the British imperial system — not an important part as measured by volume of trade, but sufficiently important in point of strategic location. As the Ottoman Empire, a convenient holding concern for a good many British imperial interests, went into liquidation, British mandates and subsidiary kingdoms for a while came to replace it — in Egypt (bulwarked by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan) on the west, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq on the north and northeast, with India conveniently near on the east. These, plus a loose string of enclaves, partly or wholly British controlled, around the coasts of Arabia, served effectively to keep the Peninsula a British preserve until the last decade.

Now, however, with British assent, Arabia — a member of United Nations and no longer an imperial preserve — is advertised as an independent state. Saudi Arabian independence, nevertheless, rests on precarious foundations at best. It rests on a sparse and uneducated population only lately converted from tribal feuds, on a primitive economy backed by few natural resources of consequence other than petroleum, and on a national income derived mainly from concessions to foreign interests. The Arabian Peninsula lies at an exposed crossroads of world interests and communications. In view of the announced withdrawal of Great Britain from India and the loosening of ties with Egypt and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, it is clear that Arabia no longer can count on material support from that quarter in any international emergency. Its security now undoubtedly depends in very large measure on the willingness of the United States, whose private interests make possible the functioning of Ibn Saud's regime, in one way or another to assume many of the responsibilities which have been borne by the British for the past century and more.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF ARABIA:

The Dependent Areas

Herbert J. Liebesny

THE DISCOVERY of vast oil resources in the Arabian Peninsula and their exploitation by American companies have involved the United States in an area which until recently seemed remote to American interests. The establishment of diplomatic relations between this country and the Yemen in May 1946 testified to the increased attention being paid to the states of the Peninsula.

Though at present concentrated in Saudi Arabia and recently manifested in the Yemen, American interest is not restricted to the independent states of Arabia, but extends also to those areas which are in a varying degree of dependence upon Great Britain, if only by virtue of American oil holdings in two of them — Bahrein and Kuwait. Increased American participation in Peninsula affairs has enhanced the desire of the rulers of the Yemen and Saudi Arabia to enlist American help in the modernization of their countries, and thereby to fortify their economic and political independence. Such economic changes as will be brought about by the exploitation of the oil fields of Bahrein and Kuwait make it likely that an increased interest in the outside world and a process of modernization will eventually characterize the dependent areas of the Peninsula as well. An examination of the position of these countries in international relations thus appears to be of more than purely academic interest.

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The Arabian Peninsula was at least formally a part of the Ottoman Empire before the latter's collapse in World War I. However, through most of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the Ottoman hold over the various sheikhdoms and sultanates of the Peninsula was tenuous at best — a state of affairs which led a number of powers to attempt an extension of their influence to Arabia. The foremost and most successful among these was Great Britain. Since the Arabian Peninsula lay athwart the route to India, Britain very naturally desired to keep this strategic area from coming under the control of a potentially hostile power. A further motive was Britain's anxiety to curb slave trading and piracy in the Persian Gulf, where security was precarious in an area close to India.

During the Napoleonic Wars the British temporarily occupied the island of Perim at the mouth of the Red Sea; at approximately the same time the East India Company was concluding the first agreements with the Sultan of Muscat. A permanent British foothold was not established in the Arabian Peninsula, however, until the occupation of Aden in 1839, after which Britain gradually expanded its influence along the southern and eastern coast of the Peninsula. In the process it concluded a large number of treaties and agreements with the numerous Arab rulers in the area, thereby establishing a varying degree of control over them.

British influence thus extended to the Peninsula did not remain unchallenged however. Aside from various attempts of the Ottoman Government to re-establish its authority in Arabia, other European powers attempted to bring parts of the general region under their control. The first European rival was France, and the Franco-British struggle for influence lasted to this century. The Baghdad Railway project represented an attempt by Germany to secure a foothold on the Persian Gulf. Still more recently, Italy tried to secure a bridgehead on the Arabian side of the Red Sea which would neutralize the British position in Aden and enable it to close the exit from the Red Sea in case of a conflict between them.

Those various endeavors on the part of other European powers to challenge British supremacy in the region were often complicated by the rivalries among the Peninsula sultans and sheikhs

themselves. Suzerainty over the small states of Arabia has changed frequently throughout history, and conflicting claims persist to this day. These claims are made even more troublesome by the fact that many of the desert borders of these countries have never been fully established, and are hardly more than theoretical lines on the map.

In spite of these manifold difficulties, Great Britain has succeeded in establishing and maintaining firm control over the southern and most of the eastern coastal region of the Peninsula, and in tying the various sheikhdoms and sultanates of that area fairly closely to the fabric of the Empire. On the basis of their legal relationship to Great Britain, the dependent states and territories in the Arabian Peninsula may be divided into three general categories: (a) British colonial territory (Aden Colony); (b) British protectorate (Aden Protectorate); and (c) semi-independent states under British protection (the Persian Gulf states).

THE COLONY AND PROTECTORATE OF ADEN¹

The Colony. The city of Aden and the surrounding territory were occupied by a British force in 1839. Upon its annexation in the same year, Aden was made part of the Bombay Presidency and remained in this status until 1932 when it was constituted a separate province. The reorganization of the government of India in 1935 brought about a further change in Aden's administrative position, for Article 288 of the Government of India Act of that year separated Aden from India and envisaged its reorganization as a Crown Colony subordinated to the Colonial Office in London. A Royal Order in Council was issued on September 28, 1936, which introduced what may be termed a new constitution for Aden.²

This constitution follows the usual lines of the fundamental laws for British Crown Colonies whereby only the basic legislation

¹ See in general Robert R. Robbins, "The Legal Status of Aden and the Aden Protectorate," *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 38 (1939), pp. 700-15. On Aden and the Persian Gulf States, see Fritz Bleiber, "Die voelkerrechtliche Stellung der Staaten Arabiens," *Zeitschrift fuer oeffentliches Recht*, vol. 19 (1939), pp. 137-63.

² *Statutory Rules and Orders* (S. R. & O.), 1936, pp. 1-17.

is enacted by the central authorities in London, day-to-day legislative needs being cared for by local legislation. The Crown, however, reserves for itself the right to legislate in all matters if it so desires. A conflict between imperial legislation and local legislation cannot arise because all local laws may be disallowed by the Crown.

The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and the Protectorate of Aden³ is assisted in the exercise of his functions by a purely advisory Executive Council composed of high government officials. A Legislative Council, created by an Order in Council of November 23, 1944,⁴ is composed of four *ex officio* members, four official members (i.e. persons employed by the Crown), and eight unofficial members (i.e. Aden residents not employed by the Crown). The official as well as the unofficial members are appointed by the Governor. At the time the Legislative Council was set up, official British circles expressed the hope that at some future date it may contain elected unofficial members.

The Council must give its consent to all legislation to be enacted for the Colony. Its members have the right to initiate legislation except in tax matters, and in matters which would involve the suspension of any or all of the Orders in Council enacted for Aden. The Governor presides over the Legislative Council and has an absolute veto over the measures it passes. The administrative direction of the affairs of the Colony is in the hands of a Civil Secretary responsible to the Governor.

In spite of the transfer of administrative control over Aden from India and the India Office to the Colonial Office in 1937, the ties with India were not completely broken. A large amount of British Indian legislation which had been made applicable to Aden continued in force. The judicial organization, moreover, remained closely linked with India, since appeals from the Aden Supreme Court lay in the High Court in Bombay. In dealing with any legal case centered in Aden, British Indian substantive and procedural laws have, therefore, to be taken into account.

³ All British colonial governors have the title Commander-in-Chief. This does not imply, however, any actual military command.

⁴ S. R. & O., 1944, pp. 1 ff. The London Times, January 7, 1947, p. 3, reported the first meeting of this Council.

The recent radical change in the position of India, however, will undoubtedly necessitate a revision of the Aden system of appeals.

The city of Aden, the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the islands of Perim, Kuria Muria, and Kamaran, thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule.⁵ This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects.

The Protectorate. The hinterland of Aden was not organized by the British into a colony, but into a Protectorate along colonial lines. Its present organization is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of March 18, 1937.⁶ Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the same time Governor of the Protectorate, and the functions exercised in the Colony by the Civil Secretary are here exercised by a Political Secretary. The powers of the Executive and Legislative Councils do not extend to the Protectorate.

The region is divided into two parts: the Western Protectorate and the Eastern Protectorate. With the exception of the Sultan of Lahej, the chiefs in the Western Protectorate generally possess only limited control over their subjects; the states in the Eastern Protectorate are more fully organized. In contrast with the Colony, the native governmental institutions in the Protectorate were left intact, and the area is administered according to the principles of indirect rule. The Crown has reserved the right to make laws for the peace, good order, and government of the Protectorate. At the same time the Governor may enact certain rules and orders and may especially extend to the Protectorate legisla-

⁵ The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery, as is the case in Aden Colony. The latter indicates the use of existing native institutions, and the placing of many of the actual administrative functions in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

⁶ S. R. & O., 1937, pp. 750-57, as amended. A protectorate, even one very closely resembling a colony, is not part of the national territory of the protecting state but remains legally a foreign country. The natives of the protectorate are not British subjects, but subjects of the local ruler. They do not owe allegiance but only a limited "obedience" to the British Crown; see *King v. The Earl of Crewe*, ex parte Sekgome, *Law Reports, King's Bench Division*, 1910, vol. 2, pp. 619-20. The right of the Crown to exercise legislative and administrative functions in such areas is based, aside from treaties with the local rulers, upon the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 (53 & 54 Victoria c. 37, as amended). See in general W. E. Hall, *A Treatise on the Foreign Powers and Jurisdiction of the British Crown* (Oxford, 1894).

tion enacted for the Colony. Such legislation, however, applies only to persons who are not natives of the Protectorate. This point is of considerable practical importance. For example, the mining legislation for the Colony of Aden, which was extended to the Protectorate by the Governor in 1937, would apply to all foreign, including British, companies, but not to a native unless it had been made a part of the local legislation in the individual state in question. The situation with regard to the judicial organization is similar in that the Supreme Court and the inferior courts of the Colony have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person who is not a native is concerned.

The relations of the British with the various native states in the Aden Protectorate are based on treaties concluded with the sultans and sheikhs in the course of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.⁷ Treaty relations with neighboring sheikhs were established soon after the occupation of Aden in order to make the waters and roads around the port safe for peaceful traffic. Gradually British influence in the Aden hinterland was extended until in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth protectorate treaties were concluded with most of the more important local rulers. The important features of these agreements are the extension of British protection to the native state in question, and the promise of the local ruler not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of his territory in favor of a power other than Great Britain. Most of the sultans and sheikhs were granted stipends by the British; in case of non-compliance with the treaty provisions, discontinuance of the stipend was used as a weapon to force the rebellious sheikh into line.

The protectorates thus established restrict the sovereignty of the local rulers to a very considerable degree. As far as international relations (including those with their immediate neighbors) are concerned, they are wholly unable to pursue an independent course. In internal affairs there exists a somewhat larger degree of autonomy, but British over-all control extends, in most cases,

⁷ The various treaties and agreements between Great Britain and the various rulers in the Arabian Peninsula are collected in India, Foreign and Political Department: *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by C. U. Aitchison (Delhi, 1933), vol. 11. [Hereafter quoted as Aitchison.]

to all fields of administration, as far as such exists at all in the individual states.

Treaties of the above type were concluded with rulers in the Eastern as well as the Western Protectorate. The relationship between the British and the important sultans in the so-called Hadramaut in the Eastern Protectorate was modified, however, in the nineteen-thirties. On August 13, 1937, an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla in which the former agreed to provide a Resident Adviser for the sultanate. This was followed in February 1939 by a similar agreement with the Sultan of Seyun, who had not been previously in direct treaty relations with the British.⁸ In these treaties the native rulers agreed to take the advice of the Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Moslem religion and custom. These treaties did not abrogate earlier agreements, such as the protectorate treaty with the Sultan of Mukalla of 1890, but were supplementary to them. They follow closely the pattern of the treaties concluded by Great Britain with the Unfederated Malay States, and it is apparently the aim of the British Government to develop the administration of the Hadramaut states along the lines followed before World War II in Malaya, with which the sultanates of the Hadramaut have close cultural ties.⁹ In 1939, again following the Malayan precedent, a State Council was set up in Mukalla. It is presided over by the Sultan and consists of the Resident Adviser, the State Secretary, and two nominated Arab members. The Council acts as the Sultan's cabinet.

The main task of the Resident Adviser of the Hadramaut is to organize a modern administration. In response to native apprehensions, Harold Ingrams, the first to hold this post, stressed that this did not mean direct British administration but that on the contrary local inhabitants were to be employed as far as possible. Owing to the small number of trained native officials, how-

⁸ Seyun had an agreement with Mukalla, concluded in 1918, in which it was stated that the Hadramaut "being an appanage of the British Empire," should be one province. The Agreement was renewed in a revised form in 1939.

⁹ For the contents and scope of these agreements, see Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, 1942), pp. 316-17, 338-40, 347-49. Harold Ingrams, the first Resident Adviser to the Hadramaut states, studied the Malayan system during a visit there in 1939.

ever, the administrative services are to a considerable extent staffed with British experts. The administrative machinery set up under these agreements has thus served to increase Great Britain's control of the internal as well as external affairs of the two most important states in the Hadramaut. Even if the actual administrative processes should be handled by natives to a larger extent than has been the case so far, British control would not be diminished, for the Resident Adviser can always prevent the conduct of affairs along lines of which the British Government does not approve.

The administration of the Aden Protectorate thus follows a pattern which lies between that of Malaya and that found in most of the British protectorates in Africa. In line with the latter was the Order in Council of 1937, which stressed the basic right of the Crown to legislate for the territory. At the same time, the administration of the Aden Protectorate follows more strictly the lines of indirect rule than in most of Africa,¹⁰ and the rights reserved to the sultans and sheikhs of the Aden Protectorate are more extensive than those of their African counterparts. The British have also refrained from establishing by general ordinance the rights and duties of native authorities and native courts, and from giving the Governor the right to constitute and abolish them. Constitutionally speaking, it would thus appear that the internal sovereign rights left to the Protectorate rulers are not regarded as derived from British authority but as inherent in the ruling chief.¹¹

In this connection it should also be mentioned that a decision of the High Court of Bombay in 1897 accorded the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla immunity from jurisdiction, thereby putting him into the same category as the Indian and Malay rulers.¹² The chiefs of the African protectorates, on the other hand, are not granted immunity and may be sued in British courts like any private individual.¹³ The problem of immunity of the local rulers is of increasing practical importance at a time when the economic

¹⁰ Zanzibar is an exception in some respects.

¹¹ A similar construction is put by the Colonial Office upon the sovereign rights of the Indian rulers. See *Statham v. Statham and the Gaekwar of Baroda*, *Law Reports*, 1912, p. 92.

¹² *Chandu Lal Kushalji v. Awad bin Umar, Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla*. *Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series*, 1897, p. 351.

¹³ *Tshekedi Khama v. Ratshosa*, *Law Reports, Appeal Cases*, 1931, pp. 784-98.

and political isolation of the countries of the Arabian Peninsula is slipping away. The granting of immunity from jurisdiction means that the respective rulers are regarded as sovereigns and, as a basic rule, cannot be sued in foreign courts. In British cases dealing with Indian and Malay rulers, the executive departments of the British Government have invariably stressed the attributes of sovereignty still residing in the local rulers which, in their opinion, exempted them from the jurisdiction of the courts.¹⁴ In recent years the courts have on at least two occasions ruled against this principle by denying immunity to Indian rajahs in cases involving tax matters.¹⁵ It is too early to say, however, whether this indicates a general trend or whether the change in attitude was based upon the special circumstances of the cases.

Britain has concluded treaties with only the more important chiefs of the Protectorate. Thus, while it is probable that British courts would treat at least the rulers of the well-organized states of the Hadramaut as sovereign chiefs in the Indian sense and grant them immunity, it is doubtful whether small chiefs with whom no treaty relations exist would be accorded a like status.

THE PERSIAN GULF STATES

Concurrently with the establishment of their paramount position in the Aden hinterland, and for much the same reasons, the British endeavored to consolidate their influence in Oman and along the western shore of the Persian Gulf. The early nineteenth century treaties which Britain concluded with the various rulers of the Persian Gulf coast dealt mainly with piracy, arms traffic, and general problems of maritime security in the Gulf. These treaty relations were gradually expanded until, with the exception of Muscat, Great Britain obtained full control over the foreign relations of the Gulf states. The large oil resources discovered in the area have given a vastly increased value to its position in this regard.

¹⁴ One of the leading cases is *Duff Development Company v. Government of Kelantan*, *Law Reports, Appeal Cases*, p. 97. For a more recent Indian case, see *Gaekwar of Baroda State Railways v. Hafiz Habib-ul-Haq and others*, *Indian Appeals*, 1937-38, vol. 65, p. 182.

¹⁵ *The Superintendent Government Soap Factory Bangalore v. Commissioner of Income Tax, Ceylon*, *The New Law Reports* 43, 1943, p. 439; and *Bishwanath Sing v. Commissioner of Income Tax, Central and United*, *Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series*, 1942, part vi, p. 398.

The treaties which provide the legal basis for Britain's position place the native states virtually under British protection. The over-all direction of British relations with the various local rulers is put in the hands of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who has had his seat on the Iranian side at Bushire, but was recently reported to have moved to Bahrein. Under him serve so-called Political Agents stationed in the various states. Administratively the Political Residency has been subordinated to the Government of India; its officials have belonged to the Indian Political Service and basic policy with regard to the Persian Gulf states has been determined by the India Office. The profound change in the status of India which is about to take place and the probable dissolution of the Indian Civil Service in the not distant future will necessitate a new affiliation for the British political service in the Persian Gulf. Should it be taken over by the Colonial Office, it would mean the final unification of British administrative direction in the dependent areas of the Arabian Peninsula.

Bahrein. Since the abandonment of Basra as a British naval base in 1935 and the creation of a new base on Bahrein Island, the latter has become the strategic center for Britain's position in the Gulf. It is the seat not only of the Political Resident, but also of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer in the Persian Gulf. These British officials are to be distinguished from the technical advisers of the Sheikh, who are also British subjects but are not subordinated to the Persian Gulf Residency, being state servants of Bahrein. Chief among them are the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

Treaty relations with the Sheikh of Bahrein were first established by the East India Company in 1820. The present relationship is based upon agreements of December 22, 1880, and March 13, 1892, by which the Sheikh bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government other than the British without the latter's consent. He further promised not to dispose of any part of his territory to anyone except the British Government. As a result of these stipulations, which are very close to

those contained in the treaties with Protectorate rulers, the foreign relations of Bahrein were brought under full British control. The treaties with Bahrein do not contain any clause expressly extending British protection to the country; nevertheless, Bahrein can be regarded as a British-protected state enjoying a large degree of internal autonomy.¹⁶

It is characteristic of British relations with this and other Persian Gulf states that the British Government by agreement reserves for itself the final decision with regard to the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, especially pearl fisheries and oil. Thus in a letter written in 1911, the Sheikh promised not to grant any pearling concessions without British consent. As far as oil deposits are concerned, the Sheikh undertook in a letter of May 14, 1914, not to exploit any possible oil deposits himself or to "entertain overtures from any quarter regarding that (i.e. the oil deposits) without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without approval of the High Government."

An oil concession in Bahrein was acquired originally by a British company. When it became apparent that the concession would pass into American hands, the Colonial Office objected to the control of Bahrein's oil resources by foreign interests. In a note of March 28, 1929, the U. S. Department of State, following its traditional policy of insisting upon equal opportunity for American interests, asked the British Government for a statement of its policies with regard to foreign oil concessions in Bahrein and in territories with a similar status. The British Government subsequently agreed to the participation of American interests in the concession in Bahrein; but it did not make any general statement of policy, declaring that each case would have to be considered on its individual merits.¹⁷ The Bahrein concession is owned at present by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company through a jointly-owned subsidiary, the Bahrein Petroleum Company. This subsidiary is registered in Canada, and is thus legally located within the British Empire. The Bahrein case

¹⁶ See the note of Sir Austen Chamberlain to the Persian Minister in London, January 15, 1928, where Bahrein is referred to as being under British protection. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 1928, p. 607.

¹⁷ Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (1929), vol. 3, pp. 80-82.

shows the practical effect of the Sheikh's undertaking with regard to his country's petroleum resources, and the controlling influence acquired by the British Government in any decision affecting this important source of national wealth.

The position of Bahrein as an independent sheikhdom under British protection has been challenged repeatedly by the Iranian Government, which claims sovereignty over the islands on historical grounds. Protests have been made to the British Government intermittently since 1829, and have been as often repudiated. The most extensive airing of the dispute took place between 1927 and 1930, when Iran protested against Article 6 of the Treaty of Jidda concluded in 1927 between Great Britain and Saudi Arabia. There Bahrein had been referred to as a state in special treaty relations with the British Government. In a lengthy exchange of notes both governments set forth their points of view. Iran claimed that Bahrein had been under its unchallenged sovereignty before the British intervened, and that Iranian sovereignty over the islands had been recognized by Lord Clarendon, the British Foreign Secretary, in 1869. This claim was denied in the British notes, which stated that the Sheikh of Bahrein had on various occasions during the first half of the nineteenth century professed only "an unwilling allegiance" to the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and various Arab countries, and that often conflicting claims to sovereignty over Bahrein had been put forward in the course of time by a number of countries. Britain denied that Lord Clarendon had ever recognized the Iranian claim.

Iran forwarded its original note of protest to the League of Nations under Article 10 of the Covenant; all subsequent notes were likewise sent to the Secretary-General of the League. However, the League took no action in the conflict and no settlement was ever reached.¹⁸ Iran again asserted its position when it protested to the U. S. Government in 1933 against the Sheikh's grant of an oil concession to an American company, stating that it

¹⁸ The various notes exchanged in this dispute are reprinted in the *Official Journal of the League of Nations*; a brief account of the question is contained in A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1934 (London, 1935), pp. 221-24; a treatment from the Iranian point of view is found in Malek Esmaili, *Le golfe persique et les isles de Bahrein* (Paris, 1936).

regarded the concession as null and void since it was granted by authorities who had no right to do so. Iran also reserved the right to claim all profits from the concession, and possible damages. The U. S. Government apparently did not reply to this note. Likewise, when Bahrein was bombed by Italian planes in October 1940, Iran, which was then neutral, protested to Italy against this alleged violation of its territory. The Iranian claim was brought up again in 1946 when it seems to have found some support in the Russian press.

The dispute regarding the sovereignty over Bahrein is one of those territorial disputes, not uncommon in Asia, in which one party bases its claims on historical arguments dating back several centuries; but it is doubtful whether the yardstick of Western international law and its definition of sovereignty and undisturbed possession can be applied at all to the situation prevailing in the Persian Gulf in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. It is likely that the relationship between the large Eastern empires and the small tribal sheikhdoms was one of suzerainty rather than sovereignty, and that allegiances shifted fairly rapidly. However, it has to be noted that the Iranian claim has never been settled. Should other historical claims based on similarly remote evidence find a sympathetic hearing either at the peace table or in the United Nations, Iran may be expected to advance its grievances again.

Kuwait. The legal position of Kuwait is very similar to that of Bahrein. A treaty along the same lines as that concluded with Bahrein was entered into by the Sheikh of Kuwait on January 23, 1899. A Political Agent for Kuwait was first appointed in 1904. As in Bahrein, the British Government has reserved for itself control over the exploitation of Kuwait's natural resources. In a letter of July 29, 1911, the Sheikh promised not to grant any pearling concession without British consent. By a note of October 27, 1913, he likewise agreed not to grant oil concessions "to anybody except a person appointed from the British government."

The Sheikh of Kuwait remained loyal to the British Government when Turkey entered World War I on the side of the Central Powers. In return for this loyalty, the British in a note of

November 3, 1914, promised their support to the Sheikh if he attacked certain neighboring districts then under Turkish control; further, they guaranteed the possession of some real estate owned by him personally and recognized Kuwait as "an independent government under British protection."

Oil rights in Kuwait, as in Bahrein, were originally acquired by a British negotiator, Major Holmes, who then attempted to transfer the concession to the Gulf Oil Company. Again difficulties developed because of the opposition of the British Government. The situation was further complicated in this case by the sudden interest shown by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British Government owns a majority of stock. The U. S. Department of State again intervened in favor of equal treatment for the American company. In this case a compromise was reached between British and American interests, and the Kuwait Oil Company, owned in equal parts by the Gulf Oil Company and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, was established for the exploitation of the Kuwait concession.

Trucial Oman. From the base of the Qatar Peninsula to the Gulf of Oman, with the exception of the tip of the Musandam Peninsula which is part of Muscat, the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf is ruled by several independent sheikhs who have entered into treaty relations with the British dating back to 1820, when a treaty of peace was concluded between them and the East India Company. The treaty was followed by various agreements dealing primarily with the suppression of piracy and slave trade, as was the case with Bahrein. A general perpetual peace treaty providing also for peace between the various sheikhs was concluded in 1853. In March 1892 the sheikhs signed a so-called exclusive agreement, its text being identical with that of the Bahrein agreement of March 13 of the same year. The Trucial sheikhs were thus brought into a relationship with Great Britain which is comparable to that of Bahrein and Kuwait. The British representative in the area is the Political Officer, Trucial Coast.

Here, too, assurances were given by the local rulers that pearling and oil concessions would be given only with British approval. An oil concession is held by Petroleum Concessions, Ltd., a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Qatar. An agreement with the Sheikh of Qatar was concluded by the British on November 3, 1916. In it the Sheikh undertook to abide by the spirit and the obligations of the agreements with the other Trucial sheikhs. The treaty contains the usual injunction against relations with foreign powers, and also a clause making the granting of pearling concessions or other monopolies dependent upon British consent. It is thus relatively more inclusive than the similar undertakings discussed so far. In return the British promised to extend to the Sheikh the privileges enjoyed by other friendly Arab sheikhs, to protect him against all aggression by sea, and to lend their good offices in case of an overland attack. In 1934 a new agreement was concluded which extended fuller British protection. At the same time the Sheikh granted an oil concession to Petroleum Concessions, Ltd. The Political Agent for Bahrein at present acts also as Political Agent for Qatar.

*Muscat and Oman.*¹⁹ The Sultanate of Muscat and Oman is not so closely tied to Britain as the other Gulf states, and the Sultan has retained more attributes of external and internal sovereignty than have the other rulers. Muscat began to establish relations with Western countries toward the end of the eighteenth century, when a treaty was concluded between the Sultan and the East India Company. Shortly thereafter French interest in the country led to the establishment of a French consulate there. On his mission to the east in 1833 to extend American commercial relations, Edmund Roberts visited Muscat and concluded a Treaty of Amity and Commerce for the United States.²⁰ Treaties between the Sultan and France were signed in 1841 and 1844, and the Netherlands concluded a commercial agreement in 1877.²¹

The Sultan thus entered into treaty relations with those Western states which from his point of view could be regarded as the most important. However, the rulers of Muscat did not succeed in maintaining a balance among the various European influences

¹⁹ The tribes of the interior revolted against the Sultan in 1915 because of his dealings with foreign powers, and elected a general ruler called Imam, whom the Government of India recognized in 1928.

²⁰ Text in Malloy, *Treaties* (Washington, 1910), vol. 1, pp. 1228-30.

²¹ Texts in Aitchison, Appendixes II and IV. For France's relations with Muscat, see A. Ausoux, "La France et Mascate au XVIIIe et XIXe siècle," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, vol. 23 (1910), pp. 518-40; vol. 24 (1910), pp. 234-65.

in their country. For a considerable part of the nineteenth century, Muscat and the adjacent area was the scene of a lively rivalry between Great Britain and France, with the latter slowly but steadily losing ground. In 1862 the two powers concluded an agreement in which they mutually guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Sultanate. Prompted primarily by the indirect support which France gave the slave trade through the liberal granting of the status of protégé to local shipowners, Britain in 1890 decided upon a radical course. It declared a protectorate over Zanzibar, once an African possession of Muscat, and concluded a far-reaching commercial treaty with the Sultan himself. This treaty was accompanied by an agreement in which the Sultan bound himself and his successors not to dispose of any part of his territory to anybody but the British Government. It did not, however, contain any pledge on the part of the Sultan not to enter into relations with foreign governments, nor did it alter the status of the treaties concluded by other powers with Muscat. The U. S. Government regards its treaty with Muscat as still in force even though there is at present no American representative in that country, and the extraterritorial jurisdiction of the United States under the treaty is not exercised at this time. The treaty with France likewise appears to be still in force.²²

The status of Muscat as an independent sultanate was affirmed by the Hague Court of Arbitration in its decision in the Muscat Dow Case in 1905. Britain itself has indicated that it does not put Muscat into the same category as the other Persian Gulf sheikhdoms by giving, for example, the Political Agent in Muscat the official title of consul.

A new treaty of commerce and navigation was signed between Great Britain and Muscat on February 5, 1939, replacing the treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation of March 19, 1891.²³ Paralleling closely the earlier treaty, the treaty of 1939 deals primarily with commercial matters. Important is the redefinition of the extraterritorial jurisdiction of the British Consul which has been narrowed down in several respects, giving the local native tribunals a larger amount of jurisdiction in cases in-

²² The French Consulate was closed in 1920.

²³ Foreign Office (Great Britain), *Treaty Series*, (1939), no. 29.

volving British nationals than they had before. The publication of this treaty in the official treaty series is a further indication of the continued formal independence of Muscat.

British control over the exploitation of natural resources has been established also in the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. In a letter of May 31, 1902, the Sultan stated that he had no intention at present of exploiting the Sur coal fields himself and agreed to give an option to the British Government in the event that some other body should apply for a mining concession. With regard to oil the Sultan promised in a note of January 10, 1923, not to exploit petroleum resources himself or to grant any concession without consultation with the Political Agent and without approval of the Government of India. It was further stipulated that all exploitation would have to be in the form of a monopoly. An oil concession is held by Petroleum Concessions, Ltd.

The states of the Persian Gulf, with the exception of Muscat, thus are in a position similar to that of the sultanates and sheikhdoms of the Protectorate, but they are less closely tied into the general framework of the Empire. The British Crown has not claimed for this area any over-all right to make laws for the peace, order, and good government as is the case in the Protectorate, and no full protectorate administration has been established. The Orders in Council enacted separately for each of the states of the Persian Gulf area deal exclusively with the exercise of British extraterritorial jurisdiction.²⁴ In all of these countries British jurisdiction extends to criminal cases where British subjects or British-protected persons are the defendants, and to all civil suits where both parties are in that category. The term "British-protected person" is defined as including persons "properly enjoying His Majesty's protection." According to the Qatar Order the term does not include subjects of the sheikhs of Bahrein, Kuwait, and the Trucial Oman, who are thus under the jurisdiction of the native tribunals. Foreigners, with the exception of Moslems who are not British subjects, are under British jurisdiction. Subjects of the local state are under the jurisdiction of

²⁴ Bahrein Order in Council, 1913 (as amended), S. R. & O., 1913, pp. 247-69; Kuwait Order in Council, 1935, S. R. & O., 1935, pp. 490-520; Qatar Order in Council, 1939, S. R. & O., 1939, vol. 2, pp. 1663-93; Muscat Order in Council, 1939, S. R. & O., 1939, vol. 2, pp. 1609-42.

British tribunals only if they are registered in the Political Agency as being in the regular service of a British subject or a foreigner, including British and foreign corporations. In Muscat the term "British-protected person" does not include nationals of Bahrein, Kuwait, Qatar, the Trucial states, the states of the Aden Protectorate, and nationals of Zanzibar of Omani origin with regard to property the latter own in Muscat. Foreigners and subjects of Muscat are under the jurisdiction of British courts only if they are in the service of the Political Agent. So-called mixed cases are handled by joint courts in Bahrein, Kuwait, and Qatar, and by a British court in Muscat. Mixed cases are suits in which natives are the plaintiffs and non-natives, subject to British jurisdiction, the defendants. In Bahrein, Kuwait, and Qatar this category also includes civil suits in which the roles are reversed.

British jurisdiction is exercised by District Courts which are held by the Political Agents or by the Judicial Assistant to the Political Resident, and by the Chief Court held by the Political Resident. The procedure of these courts is governed by the Indian Codes of Civil and of Criminal Procedure, and an appeal lies in the Privy Council in London. The joint courts in Bahrein, Kuwait, and Qatar consist of the Political Agent and a representative of the local ruler.

Except in Muscat, where the restriction of British jurisdiction to British subjects and protégés was necessitated by the established extraterritorial rights of other countries, such jurisdiction is all-inclusive as far as non-natives are concerned. Until the opening of the area to more extensive contact with the West, the number of cases arising in the Persian Gulf states which involved non-British Europeans or Americans was undoubtedly very small, and the practical ramifications of the orders were less apparent than they would be today. Britain can probably claim the consent, expressed or tacit, of the rulers of the various Gulf states to this extensive jurisdiction. It may be questioned, however, how far other powers would be willing to have their subjects submit to British courts whose jurisdiction over foreigners was established unilaterally by Order in Council, and is not based upon international conventions to which these powers are parties.

CONCLUSIONS

With regard to their international status a distinction therefore must be made between (a) the states of the Aden Protectorate; (b) Bahrein, Qatar, the Trucial sheikhdoms, Kuwait; and (c) Muscat. The states of the Protectorate have surrendered their external as well as a considerable amount of their internal sovereignty to Great Britain. The establishment of an over-all protectorate administration along colonial lines has further tended to assimilate their status to that of the African states under British control. In view of this status the countries of the Aden Protectorate cannot be regarded as subjects of international law, and the treaties concluded by Great Britain with these states would fall into the same category as those concluded with Indian rajahs and African chiefs; that is, they are not regarded as internationally binding and can be disregarded or unilaterally altered by the imperial power. This interpretation, which is often at variance with the construction placed upon these treaties by the local governments, is based upon the doctrine that the African and Oriental states cannot be regarded as states at all or at least not as states in the Western sense. Therefore they cannot be members of the "Western family of nations" and subjects of international law.

Modern international developments have tended to obliterate more and more these differentiations, at least where independent African and Asiatic states are concerned. Thus states of Africa and Asia were members of the League of Nations and are at present members of the United Nations, and treaties with them are definitely regarded as internationally binding. However, the doctrine outlined above has become so much a part of the concept of imperial relations with native rulers that it is likely to persist even though it would not be applied any more to the intercourse with governments of independent countries in the Orient. An outgrowth of the same thesis is the concept that the King has a basic right to legislate in all matters, and that the various treaties are merely statements of the limitations the Imperial Government places on its own actions. The Imperial Government is therefore within its rights under this doctrine, if for one reason or another it considers it necessary to intervene in the conduct of ex-

ternal or internal affairs of the individual states to a fuller degree than provided by treaty.

The status of the Persian Gulf states, with the exception of Muscat, is less well defined than that of the Protectorate sheikhdoms. Official British parlance refers to them regularly as "independent states in special treaty relations with His Majesty's Government."²⁵ This phrase is rather vague and does not offer much of a basis for the proper legal classification of their status. As has been shown, none of these states participates in the conduct of its foreign relations except with regard to other sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Internally a large measure of sovereignty has been preserved, and Great Britain has not claimed any full basic legislative power. In the abortive Anglo-Italian treaty of 1938 reference was made to the "autonomy of the Arab rulers under (British) protection" which the British Government undertook to maintain. This phrase apparently referred to both the Protectorate rulers and those of the Persian Gulf. However, in the next article Great Britain granted the right of travel, trade, and residence to Italians "within the limits of the Aden Protectorate as defined in the Aden Protectorate Order 1937." This may indicate that, in view of the less restricted internal sovereignty of the Persian Gulf sheikhs, Britain could not enter into a like undertaking for their territory. Such rights would in all likelihood have to be granted by the governments of the individual states, with negotiations being conducted through the British.

It is difficult to say with certainty whether the treaties with Bahrein, the Trucial Sheikhs, Qatar, and Kuwait should be considered internationally binding. The British emphasis upon the independence of these states and their special treaty relations may point in this direction. This would not mean, of course, that these countries could be regarded as sovereign independent states in the sense of international law, but it might place them in a category somewhat similar to that of Tunis and Morocco, whose protectorate treaties with France are considered internationally

²⁵ Sir B. Eyres, First Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons on April 18, 1934, Hansard, *Commons*, vol. 88, col. 973-74; Article 6 of the Treaty of Jidda. Foreign Office (Great Britain), *Treaty Series*, 1927, no. 25.

binding. However, the position of Tunis and Morocco has been defined more clearly by international agreements and decisions of international tribunals than has that of the Persian Gulf states.

The position of Muscat is clearer than that of the other states of the Gulf. The Muscat Government has not completely abdicated its participation in the country's foreign relations. Furthermore, the fact that its recent commercial treaty with Great Britain was published in the official British Treaty Series would seem to indicate that the treaty should be regarded as internationally binding, and that Muscat is to be considered a subject of international law even though the Sultan has surrendered a number of his sovereign rights to the British.²⁶

The exact international status of the states along the coast of the Arabian Peninsula is thus in many respects not fully clarified. The ever closer relations of this area with the West, and the rising tide of Arab nationalism may prove potent factors in forcing a definition, in strict accordance with international law, of the international position of these countries. Such a definition might possibly be attempted within the framework of future United Nations action on dependent areas. A clarification of the status of the area in relation to modern concepts of international law as applied to non-independent countries would be a major contribution to the avoidance of conflicts which might have repercussions beyond the confines of the Arabian Peninsula.

²⁶ The fact that Muscat is not mentioned in Article 6 of the Treaty of Jidda may likewise be indicative of that country's different position.

MONETARY PROBLEMS OF SAUDI ARABIA

Raymond F. Mikesell

IN ONE respect, at least, Saudi Arabia is unique among the members of the United Nations. In no other country is there such a sharp cleavage between the basis of law and economy on which the internal administration functions, and the basis of international co-operation in these fields which membership in the United Nations implies. The four and one-half million inhabitants of Saudi Arabia are governed by a monarch who is absolute within the limits established by a rigid system of religious law formulated a millenium ago. King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud maintains his position over traditionally rival tribes through great force of personal prestige, military power, and a complicated system of cash subsidies to the tribal chieftains. The government is centered entirely in his person. The economic organization of Saudi Arabia is equally primitive. The nomadic portion of the population is occupied with the tending of herds; the settled farmers and artisans live and work in a society of medieval simplicity. The country is completely without industrialization in the European sense.

As indicated by its membership in the United Nations, Saudi Arabia is nevertheless opening itself to international contacts which in turn are forcing upon it a more complex way of life. Although replete with political overtones, these influences are primarily economic. The first of them, the annual pilgrimage to the Holy Cities, has been an influence in the country for many

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centuries, but recently has assumed added significance. It is not only a major source of foreign exchange income, but in addition has provided an important contact with Moslem peoples of two continents, many of whom have been in association with Western culture.

A second path of economic contact with the outside world is Arabia's increasing dependence on it for a variety of essential commodities. So long as international trade was largely free and Arabia's needs were simple, imports could be restricted to India and the nearby countries of the Middle East. But during World War II the export trade of the countries which constituted Arabia's normal source of supply came under the control of the Anglo-American Middle East Supply Center (MESC). Arabia's own foreign trade thus was made subject to the supervision of the MESC. This circumstance, together with the general reshuffling of world trade and the increasing complexity of Saudi Arabia's needs, make it doubtful whether the relatively simple pre-war pattern ever will return.

Another factor recently injected into Arabian economy has been the contribution of the British and American governments to the economic stability of Arabia as an area of prime strategic importance during World War II. To make certain that Arabia would continue to be available as a back door to the Eastern Mediterranean and a link in the line of sea and air communications to India and the Far East, Great Britain and the United States supplied the Saudi Arabian Government, in the form of lend-lease and subsidies, with large quantities of food and equipment. The United States likewise sent agricultural and military missions into the area, and gave assistance in solving wartime currency problems.

The last, but certainly the most important element forcing Arabia upon the international scene and greatly complicating its economic picture is the development of its oil resources by foreign concession. Although the first well was not drilled until 1935 and production on a commercial scale did not begin until 1938, the influence of this development on the political and economic life of the country already is significant, and promises to be vital in the future.

FINANCE AND CURRENCY

The Saudi Arabian Government has done little as yet to evolve a financial system which would not only meet its own cultural traditions, but would be adequate to cope with these complicating developments. Western budgetary and fiscal practices are practically unknown. No budget estimates are published, although crude summaries of expenditures and revenues are prepared for the purpose of negotiating with foreign powers. There appears to be little distinction between disbursements for the King's household and for governmental administration. Likewise, little distinction is made between those financial activities of the government which are contingent upon its administrative functions, and its commercial transactions as the chief importer of merchandise for distribution in the form of subsidies to tribal chieftains, payment in kind to government employees, and direct cash sale to merchants.

The government's tax receipts are derived largely from customs duties and the *ushr*, a ten per cent levy on all produce payable in kind.¹ The inefficiency of the tax administration, however, results in a meager yield, while extensive smuggling greatly reduces the possible revenue from customs. In recent years income from taxation has amounted to less than five per cent of the total. The bulk of the government's revenue is derived from the pilgrimage, and from royalties paid by the Arabian American Oil Company and the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate.

The primitive simplicity of the economic and financial structure of Saudi Arabian society and government accounts in part for the confusion which has been permitted to prevail in currency and monetary practice. The official coin of the realm is the Saudi *riyal*, a silver coin first circulated in 1933.² It replaced a previous *riyal* with double the silver content which had been

¹ There is, in addition, a war tax of 5 *riyals* per year levied on all persons not subject to the *ushr* tax and who are not serving in the army. Beginning with the Mohammedan year 1365 (December 5, 1945), all male foreigners residing in Saudi Arabia have had to pay a tax of 10 *riyals* per year.

² The Saudi *riyal* has a silver content of 165 grains and a total weight of 180 grains. The coin was thus exactly equivalent in silver content to the Indian rupee of that time. The Saudi *riyal* is divided into 22 *qurush darij* and 11 *qurush miri*. In addition to the *riyal*, there are in circulation silver coins of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ *riyals*, and nickel alloy coins of 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *qurush darij*. There is no native paper money in circulation. The official rates for the Saudi *riyal* in terms of the dollar and sterling are

introduced in 1926. These earlier riyals were withdrawn in 1934-35 by means of exchanging them for gold sovereigns which were in turn repurchased by the government with the new riyals. The substitution was made in this way rather than by direct exchange because certain passages in the Koran forbid the exchange of one silver coin for another of different bullion content but of equal face value.

Although the riyal is employed widely as a medium of exchange, it does not have an exclusive legal tender privilege. English gold sovereigns, Maria Theresa thalers, and, on the east coast, rupee silver coins and notes are quite common. The generally recognized standard of value in Saudi Arabia is not the riyal but the English George V gold sovereign, the value of which tends to fluctuate widely in terms of both riyals and foreign exchange. Even the government makes some of its payments in George V sovereigns, which bear a premium over the "King Edwards," and a still greater premium over the "Queen Victorias," although their gold content is identical. The Arabs regard the sovereign as something more than money. It has intrinsic value as an ornament, often being strung into necklaces; the style of the sovereign is therefore a matter of considerable significance, and accounts for a variation of as much as ten to twenty per cent in value. The "Queen Victorias," besides being older and therefore possibly more worn, run counter to the religious prejudice against portraits of women, and thus are liable to additional discount.

The rate of exchange between the riyal and the sovereign varies with the relative demand for and supply of the two coins. Since neither currency is freely coined, their exchange ratios have borne little relation to the exchange ratios between gold and silver bullion in the markets of the world. Because of the restrictions on specie exports in the neighboring countries during

£.30 and 1s. 6d. respectively; these are the rates at which the Arabian American Oil Company, the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate, and the foreign legations have been able to obtain riyals from the government. The actual market rate, however, has tended to fluctuate widely in accordance with conditions of supply and demand; during 1945 it ranged from £.42 to £.23. For a useful summary of the currency of Saudi Arabia, see "Saudi Arabia," *International Reference Service* (Department of Commerce), August 1944, III, No. 29, p. 3.

World War II, the rate of exchange in recent years has fluctuated violently, within a single year varying from as little as 35 to as much as 60 riyals to the sovereign.³

The riyal-sovereign rate of exchange has been influenced directly by the pilgrim traffic, which accounts for a large portion of the influx of sovereigns into Saudi Arabia. In recent years it has been customary for pilgrims, upon debarking at Jidda for the overland trip to Mecca and Medina, to exchange their sovereigns for riyals. A shortage of riyals in the early years of the war tended to keep down the riyal-sovereign ratio. At the same time, however, the pilgrims were forced to pay double the pre-war price in terms of their own local currencies for the sovereigns which they brought. This combination of circumstances, together with the rise in the prices of commodities and services in Saudi Arabia, greatly increased the cost of the journey to the Holy Cities. In order to deal with this situation, the Saudi Arabian Government undertook to guarantee a minimum rate of 40 riyals to the sovereign during the period of the annual pilgrimage in 1943 and 1944. The government was aided in this effort by the timely arrival in the fall of 1943 of a substantial shipment of riyals which had been coined in the United States from silver lend-leased to Saudi Arabia from the U. S. Treasury stocks.

The position of the sovereign in relation to the riyal was further strengthened by a wartime arrangement with the British whereby the pilgrims from nearby countries were permitted to pay in advance and in their own currencies a large part of the expenses incident to the journey, including the cost of transportation in Saudi Arabia.⁴ The British then paid the Saudi Arabian Government in sterling exchange, and the pilgrims needed to

³ The following wartime rates against the George V Sovereign were quoted by the Netherlands Trading Society:

	<i>Riyals</i>		<i>Riyals</i>
January 1939.....	25.90	January 1943.....	57.00
January 1940.....	27.09	January 1944.....	44.73
January 1941.....	34.09	January 1945.....	45.50
January 1942.....	40.95		

By the summer of 1946 the rate had risen to between 70 and 80 riyals to the sovereign.

⁴ The currencies of all of the countries of the Middle East and India were freely convertible into sterling during the war.

purchase only the riyals required for the cost of their food, lodging, and other personal expenditures in Saudi Arabia. This arrangement had the additional advantage of enabling the governments of the countries concerned to limit the amounts of gold sovereigns which could be taken out of their territories.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND CREDITS

In addition to the annual pilgrimage traffic, which normally brings in five to six million dollars worth of sovereigns and sterling through the arrangement with the British already explained,⁵ Saudi Arabia has two other chief sources of foreign exchange: exports of merchandise, and royalty payments and advances from the Arabian American Oil Company and the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate.

Since reliable foreign trade statistics are not available, it is impossible to estimate Saudi Arabia's income from exports. However, since the country has a highly unfavorable merchandise balance (if oil exports be excluded), her foreign exchange income from exports provides only a small fraction of her current requirements. A far larger income is realized from oil. At the current production rate of 250,000 barrels of crude per day, royalties are running at approximately twenty million dollars per year. Exports of gold concentrates by the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate have in the past averaged about one million dollars annually, but only a portion of this amount represents net foreign exchange earnings for Saudi Arabia.

Oil royalties are estimated at the rate of 4 shillings gold⁶ per ton of crude petroleum, and are payable in sterling or in dollars at the option of the oil company. There is a difference of opinion between the oil company and the Saudi Arabian Government as to the equivalent in terms of dollars or sterling of "4 shillings gold," but the company is at present paying royalties at the rate of 22 cents per barrel. Since a considerable portion of the Saudi Arabian output will probably be marketed in non-dollar currency areas, the company may find it more convenient in the

⁵ During World War II the pilgrim traffic was cut one-half to two-thirds; in 1944 the Saudi Arabian Government estimated the revenues from the pilgrimage at 10.3 million riyals, or 3.1 million dollars at the official rate of exchange. International Reference Service, *loc. cit.*, p. 4.

⁶ The gold shilling is quoted by the Bank of England at about \$41.

future to pay all or at least a portion of the royalties in sterling. This should not make a great deal of difference to Saudi Arabia, however. In the first place, a considerable portion of the country's foreign trade is with countries whose currencies are based on sterling. Secondly, under the terms of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement, sterling currently acquired after July 15, 1947, will be freely convertible into dollars or other currencies at the option of the holder.

It will be seen that the bulk of Saudi Arabia's foreign exchange earnings accrues to the government, which uses a large part of the dollars and sterling thus received for its own purchases abroad. These include foodstuffs, transport equipment, and textiles, a considerable part of which the government sells to the public or distributes in the form of subsidies. The government has also used its foreign exchange from time to time to buy sovereigns and riyals for its local expenditures, often at prices above the par value of these coins.⁷

Yet the government does not use its strong position in relation to foreign exchange to control the market or even to see that there is a proper distribution of the available supply among private importers. With the exception of a few fortunate enough to be able to obtain their dollar and sterling currencies directly from the government, merchants must secure their foreign exchange from local dealers at substantially more than the official rate, if in fact they are able to obtain it at all.⁸

A portion of Saudi Arabia's supply of riyals is being constantly drained off to provide funds for certain categories of imports. For centuries Arabia has imported, for example, much of its textile and food requirements from India. These imports have been

⁷ The following rates for the sovereign in terms of dollars were quoted by the Netherlands Trading Society, parity being \$8.24 on the basis of the official U.S. price of \$35 per ounce of gold:

January 1939.....	\$ 8.21	January 1943.....	\$20.95
January 1940.....	8.75	January 1944.....	15.81
January 1941.....	9.49	January 1945.....	18.34
January 1942.....	10.48		

The rise in the foreign exchange value of the sovereign was due in part to wartime restrictions on the exportation of gold in the countries of the sterling area and the United States. Since 1944 the Saudi Arabian Government has purchased gold from the U. S. Treasury at \$35 per ounce.

⁸ The principal foreign exchange dealer is the Netherlands Trading Society, located in Jidda. Banking and foreign exchange services are also performed by Gellatly, Hankey and Co. (Sudan) Ltd., a British importing firm operating in the Red Sea area. In addition there are a number of local money-changers in the cities who buy and sell currencies and foreign exchange.

partially financed in recent years by the exportation of silver riyals by private merchants in spite of the Saudi Arabian Government's prohibition of this practice and the Government of India's regulation against the importation of silver for the acquisition of rupees. This traffic, however, was stimulated by the high prices for silver bullion in Indian markets during World War II.

In addition to its normal sources of foreign exchange, Saudi Arabia received during World War II substantial lend-lease assistance from the Allies. It was one of their less spectacular but nevertheless important tasks to secure and maintain loyalty to the Allied cause among the Arab States. This important objective was achieved in large measure by economic and financial means. Through the efforts of the Middle East Supply Center, the Middle Eastern countries were assured of a fair share of the world's supply of essential commodities. Domestic production was stimulated to meet the needs of both the Allied armies and the local population; lend-lease and other financial aid helped to close the gap whenever necessary.

Although not a base of operations, indeed largely because it did not earn dollars and sterling from large military expenditures, Saudi Arabia received more financial assistance from the United States than any other Middle Eastern country except Turkey.⁹ In addition to straight lend-lease Saudi Arabia has received several million ounces of silver for coinage purposes from the U. S. Treasury under a lend-lease arrangement. The silver riyals have been used by the government to meet its internal expenses, and a portion has been sold to the Arabian American Oil Company, the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate, and the American Legation in Jidda for the payment of wages and other expenses. According to the lend-lease agreement, this silver must be returned

⁹ The following table, quoted from the Department of State's *23rd Report to Congress on Lend Lease Operation for the Period ended September 30, 1946*, shows the lend-lease aid received by the countries of the Middle East:

	<i>In Millions of Dollars</i>
Turkey.....	27.5
Saudi Arabia.....	17.5
Ethiopia.....	5.3
Iran.....	4.8
Egypt (paid fully in cash).....	1.1
Iraq (paid fully in cash).....	.004

to the U. S. Treasury within five years after the end of the national emergency in the United States.¹⁰

Since V-E Day the Office of Foreign Liquidation has granted a credit of two million dollars to Saudi Arabia for the purchase of U. S. surplus war materials,¹¹ and the Export-Import Bank has extended a loan of ten million dollars. An interesting feature of the Export-Import Bank loan is the omission of "interest" in its terms. Since the payment of interest is forbidden by the Koran, the agreement merely provides for the payment of specified sums each year, the total of which amounts to more than the loan.

In addition to financial assistance from the United States, Saudi Arabia has received subsidies in the form of sovereigns, silver riyals, sterling credits, and foodstuffs from the British Government. Although the amount of the British subsidy has not been revealed, it is probably as large or larger than the total assistance provided by the United States. Altogether, this financial help enabled the Saudi Arabian Government to increase its foreign expenditures to several times the pre-war level, in spite of the fact that its pilgrimage revenue drastically declined during the war.

NEED FOR FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The complexities and confusion that exist in the currency situation obtaining in Saudi Arabia point up the urgent need for a rational system of finance and banking. It is an important function of government to supply sufficient currency to meet the needs of industry and trade, no matter how primitive the economy may be. Dependence on foreign coins and silver riyals, whose bullion value has a tendency to fluctuate widely in world markets, makes it impossible for the Saudi Arabian Government to discharge this function adequately. Moreover, since the economic life of Saudi Arabia is highly dependent on foreign commerce, the government must be in a position to control the supply of and demand for foreign exchange. This function also requires the introduction of modern banking facilities which will remove it from the irresponsible hands of local money changers.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1945. The exact amount of silver lend-leased to Saudi Arabia has not been made public.

¹¹ Department of State: *Report to Congress on Foreign Surplus Disposal*, July 1946.

A modern system of currency and fiscal administration is requisite if Saudi Arabia is to realize the maximum economic and social benefits from the exploitation of its rich oil resources. It has been estimated that by 1952 crude petroleum production will reach 500,000 barrels per day. This level of production would provide annual royalties of about forty million dollars plus perhaps an additional ten million dollars in foreign exchange income from local expenditures by the oil company. A proper utilization of this income can be the means of greatly increasing the standard of living of the Saudi Arabs. On the other hand, in the absence of government planning and adequate financial machinery for directing the utilization of foreign exchange income, the foreign exchange from oil royalties is likely to be used largely for the importation of private motor cars and other luxuries by a few wealthy merchants, government officials, and land-owners. The dissipation of Saudi Arabia's newly discovered wealth in this manner would do little to improve the economic well-being of the vast bulk of its people.

A number of measures suggest themselves which, if instituted, might assist the Saudi Arabian Government in the performance of its fundamental financial operations. These include the establishment of a bank to act as fiscal agent for the government. It might be a purely Saudi Arabian institution or a branch of some foreign bank; in either case it should have correspondents abroad and be equipped to deal in foreign and domestic currencies on behalf of both the government and private interests. The bank would hold the accounts of the government and supply foreign exchange to merchants at fixed prices from the supply which the government receives from foreign concessions, the pilgrimage, and other sources. It could also assure both for itself and for foreign companies a dependable source of riyals at stable rates, and in this way encourage foreign investments which are greatly needed for industrial development. Finally, the creation of a modern bank in Saudi Arabia would provide a savings medium and a source of capital for private and governmental enterprises. At present merchants and others with surplus funds tend to accumulate hoards of coin or specie, or at best to invest in arable land, thereby keeping land prices high. Neither of these dispositions is

productive for the economy. As the prestige of the bank increased, those with surplus funds might deposit them with it, thereby providing an additional source of loanable funds at a reasonable rate of discount which the progressive-minded Ibn Saud would probably sanction.

A second possible means of stabilizing Saudi Arabia's financial picture is the introduction of a paper riyal which would provide a more flexible supply of currency. It is recognized that because of the Arab's preference for "hard" money, a paper currency would have to be convertible into coin and initially, at least, would require a high specie reserve. Gradually, however, this ratio might be reduced and the notes increasingly backed by foreign exchange. If the notes were issued by a bank created at least partially for that purpose, domestic loans, including loans to the government, could be used as partial cover for the issue, and at the same time provide the government with a supply of currency to meet its local expenditures.

To say that the introduction of a modern monetary system is impossible in Saudi Arabia because of the traditional prejudices of the Arab is to overlook the rapid financial developments in neighboring countries in recent years. Even the Bedouin Arabs in Syria, Transjordan, and other Middle Eastern states are gradually overcoming their distrust of paper money and banking institutions. Admittedly this process will take time, but the wheels and wings of modern progress are rapidly overrunning even the most remote desert corners of the world.

IBN SAUD'S PROGRAM FOR ARABIA

Richard H. Sanger

KING Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the absolute ruler of the predominant heart of the vast Arabian Peninsula, has determined to embark upon a far-reaching modernization of his realm. The early part of his life was devoted to recapturing the lost land of his ancestors. In his middle years he expanded this area until, for the first time in many centuries, the bulk of Arabia from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf was under the firm control of one man. Now in his maturity, Ibn Saud wishes to develop and consolidate this kingdom he has forged, and to help his people thereby to live fuller lives. He plans to do this by taking the best economic and agricultural techniques that the Western world has to offer, and by applying them to Saudi Arabia in a way that will not upset the basic religious and social pattern of his countrymen.

Ibn Saud is a devout Wahhabi Moslem, and there is much about Western culture that he questions. But there is also much which he has decided would not only strengthen him and his dynasty, but would help his people to improve their lot in the sandy wastes of Arabia. The King has been studying the possible application of certain phases of Western civilization to his country for many years, and it is with careful consideration that he has now made up his mind to effect economic changes comparable to the political changes he has already brought about. Things move slowly in the Middle East, but Ibn Saud is prepared by one

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means or another to push worthwhile projects over the objections of his more conservative advisers. His methods are well illustrated by the often told story of how he secured the acceptance of a radio network which he had decided would be valuable to his military and police organizations, widely scattered over a thinly-settled area almost as big as the United States east of the Mississippi. His elder advisers objected to the innovation by saying that a radio must be the work of the Devil to carry words through the air. Nothing daunted, the King assembled his wise men and had them listen to a reading of the Koran over the radio. This satisfied them because their religion expressly stated that the Devil cannot pronounce or transmit the Holy Words of the Koran, no matter what the method or means.

Thanks to the political and economic stability which has existed in Saudi Arabia for the last twenty years, and to this desire of the King for progress, a tremendous development of the country's chief natural resource has already taken place. Through the efforts of the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), whose concession covers the eastern two-thirds of Saudi Arabia, the country has become the fifth largest oil producer in the world. Since 1940 the mainland adjacent to Bahrein Island has undergone a fabulous transformation. More than 1,500 Americans, one of the largest American communities outside the United States, are living there in a series of air-cooled towns, of which the largest is Dhahran. Three oil fields, the largest being that at Abqaiq, about forty miles southwest of Dhahran, have been brought into production. A network of pipe lines connects these newly-found oil fields with the refineries at Ras Tanura, just north of Dhahran, and on the island of Bahrein, which is connected with the mainland by the world's largest underwater pipe line. Oil production is now more than 200,000 barrels a day and is increasing steadily. A deep-water pier where tankers can come alongside has been built on the promontory at Ras Tanura, and work has begun on a thirty inch pipe line to run 1,100 miles from Dhahran to the Mediterranean.

As Arabia's greatest natural resource flows out to the markets of the world, there come in return to large numbers of the Arabian people both a need for new skills, and the opportunity for a

radically different and potentially fuller life. It is estimated that approximately 70,000 workers, together with their families and relatives, gain their livelihood either directly or indirectly from Aramco's operation. Men who a few years ago were primitive Bedouins eking out a meager existence around the sparse water-holes of Al-Hasa Province are now drawing regular wages and eating new and nutritious foods.

For the first time in its history, Arabia has acquired a sizeable body of industrial workers. Whereas a camel driver would be lucky to make 90 riyals a month (approximately a dollar a day), the average worker who has been with the Oil Company a year makes a third again as much. Once the Bedouins have settled down and adjusted themselves to regular work, they begin to develop a taste for and even possess items about which they previously did not even dream. Thus the temporary straw huts in which the workers first were housed by the Oil Company are being replaced by brick dwellings in which one finds running water, electric lights, canned goods, and a score of items which in the past could be owned only by a wealthy few.

At the top of this body of workers there is developing a group of skilled artisans who have shown unusual mechanical proficiency. These are men who now hold jobs as mechanics, fitters, etc., with wages of up to 180 riyals a month. They want and are getting correspondingly better houses, better clothes, and more food than their less-skilled countrymen. This group also provides the "white-collar" workers, the bookkeepers and clerks needed to run the company's offices. Most of these men come from the Hijaz, where education has always been on a higher level than in the primitive provinces of the Najd in the central plateau, and Al-Hasa along the Persian Gulf.

Just as basic a by-product of the oil activity as the new demand for goods and services, has been a fast-growing appreciation of the benefits of Western medicine. Hospitals have been established at Dhahran and Ras Tanura, and first-aid stations are in operation wherever groups of workers are to be found.

Still another important result of this transformation is a growing need for and interest in education. Because of the strictness of Wahhabi beliefs and practices, this interest is at present still

limited to a desire to learn to read and write Arabic, to speak English, and to gain technical skills. The fact that a mechanic makes three times as much as an unskilled wrench-carrier is not lost on the sharp-eyed Bedouin boys growing up around the oil camps. Aramco is already training many boys to hold important jobs. In April of this year an educational mission from the United States and from the American University of Beirut plans to visit Saudi Arabia to work out arrangements for schools which, without interfering with basic Moslem teachings, will be in a position to give the boys and even some of the girls of Al-Hasa the fundamentals needed to fit them for life in a mechanical and rapidly moving world.

Saudi Arabia's modernization, however, is to be pushed beyond the demands that evolve naturally from the development of its oil resources. The real importance of this oil development to the country itself lies in the fact that for the first time the King has access to sufficient funds to initiate his ambitious program. Royalties from oil will probably total over \$100,000,000 during the next five years, and should climb sharply thereafter. Ibn Saud need no longer delay in putting his plans into reality; indeed, during the summer of 1946 various groups of engineers visited Saudi Arabia at his invitation. Some were American, some British, and some from Middle East countries. They were all hospitably received by the King who discussed with them his various projects for the modernization of his land.

The problems and projects in his mind are many. Of these, one that is uppermost is the consideration that although Saudi Arabia has over 2,000 miles of coast line, it has no harbor worthy of the name. At Jidda, the country's main seaport on the Red Sea, ocean-going ships must lie two miles offshore in a reef-strewn roadstead, while all passengers and freight are landed in small boats and lighters. Al-Wejh, Yanbu, and Al-Lith, the other three ports of any size on the Red Sea, are given over to dhow traffic, having no piers that can service even a small tramp steamer. On the Persian Gulf the situation is even worse. Up until two years ago all landing had to be by small boat. Aramco's pier on the promontory of Ras Tanura can accommodate ships with a draft of forty feet, but the volume of oil shipments is so

great that a dozen tankers are usually waiting to load. This pier is for all practical purposes thus unavailable for cargo or passenger ships.

King Ibn Saud is determined to give his country a window on the outside world, or rather two windows — one on the Red Sea and one on the Persian Gulf. The development on the Gulf is expected to be at the small, whitewashed, mosque-topped fishing village of Dammam, on the southern shore of Ras Tanura Bay about ten miles northeast of the oil center of Dhahran. Plans call for a stone and gravel fill and railroad pier to be built for more than six miles through the shoals off Dammam to the deep water of the Persian Gulf, making it practicable for ocean-going ships to come alongside. A thousand miles west, at Jidda, the planned solution is somewhat the same. By taking advantage of the network of reefs and shallow lagoons south of the town, a jetty can be filled in to reach deep water. Thus the pilgrims on their annual visit to Mecca will be able to step directly onto the holy Arabian shore, and it will be possible for the substantial volume of imports which now come to Jidda for distribution to Mecca, Medina, Taif, and the other cities of western Arabia, to be landed directly onto the mainland.

Another problem to be met and project envisaged is the establishment of a water supply for Jidda. At present the town gets its water from a few shallow wells within the city, from cisterns and other shallow wells nearby, from a dozen or so wells in the Oasis of Wazeriya about seven miles from the town, from a sea-water condensing plant in imminent danger of breakdown because of age and overuse, and from bottled water which is carried from Egypt by the steamers of the Khedivial Mail Line and is largely drunk by the foreign colony. As a result of its scarcity of pure water, Jidda has a high disease rate even under normal conditions; yet at the time of the annual pilgrimage its population of 25,000 is more than doubled. During the 1945 pilgrimage water supplies ran so short that considerable disturbances occurred.

There are two possible sources of water for Jidda. One is from wells in the Wadi Fatima, a fertile valley twenty-five miles inland from the sea. The other is from Wadi Usfan, a valley about thirty

miles north of the town. A careful survey is being made of these two and other possibilities, and Jidda should have an adequate supply of good water by the time of the next pilgrimage.

His Majesty is also anxious that the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina should receive the benefits of adequate clean water, modern sewage, and electric light and power systems. In view of the fact that non-Moslems cannot enter these cities, the installation of the necessary equipment presents unusual problems. Possibly Moslem engineers and skilled workmen will be recruited in other Arab lands and brought to Saudi Arabia for this work.

King Ibn Saud is understandably proud of his capital, the mud-walled city of Riyadh which he conquered in 1902, and which now has a population of over 90,000. For all its size and importance in Saudi Arabia, however, Riyadh is lighted by lanterns, candles, and a handful of individual generating plants. The King feels that a central electric plant in Riyadh would not only enhance the pleasure of living in that town after dark, but would increase the efficiency of government workers who, at the King's urgent bid, often work late into the night. A power plant would also allow the introduction of air-conditioning, and the use of electric refrigerators and deep-freeze units which would revolutionize domestic, governmental, and business life in the capital of Saudi Arabia. If such a plant were established, it would also provide power for the more than three hundred wells in the Riyadh area which supply the city with water, and which are at present operated by donkeys or camels which patiently walk up and down inclined ramps pulling leather waterbags to the accompaniment of the high-pitched, musical squeakings of wooden rope wheels.

Among Ibn Saud's ideas for improving his country, none has greater possibilities than the expansion of irrigation. Substantial volumes of water fall each year in the mountains of the Red Sea provinces of the Hijaz and Al-Asir, and in the hills of the central Najd. In some places the average annual rainfall has been estimated at about twelve inches; most of it occurs as torrential storms and drains off in destructive floods. Investigations carried on in the last few years have revealed that this water was utilized in the past by the early inhabitants of Arabia. The remains of six substantial dams have been discovered in the valley around Taif

alone, while travelers through the coastal mountains have found numerous catchments and other small dams. Although some students believe these works were abandoned because of dwindling water supply, it seems probable that unstable political conditions and constant inter-tribal warfare were more important factors. Many of these dams and catchments could be rebuilt with comparative ease; if this were done it has been estimated that land under cultivation in western Arabia could be tripled.

Irrigation in the central part of the country presents a different problem. Here the rainfall in the Tuwayq Mountains on the west sinks beneath the ground to the limestone table underlying much of that part of Saudi Arabia, and flows eastward under the Najd and Al-Hasa to come out in the Persian Gulf. The fishermen of the Bahrein Islands still obtain some of their water by diving overboard and filling pitchers in the fresh-water springs that bubble up into the Persian Gulf. Indeed there are stories of wooden jars which have been lost in wells in the interior of Arabia, and which have been found later floating in the Gulf. The great oasis of Hofuf is kept fertile by forty artesian wells whose water swells up through breaks in the Al-Hasa limestone in sufficient quantity to irrigate more than two million date trees. Riyadh, Dilam, Zilfi, Buraydah and Unayzah are other examples of oases which draw their water from these underground rivers.

Most striking of all are the great water pits in and around Al-Kharj, fifty miles southeast of Riyadh. These are often one hundred yards across; they look like quarries but are really lakes formed by the collapse of the surface limestone table. They are filled to approximately one hundred feet below the surface of the ground with the fresh clear water that has made possible the agricultural experiment at Al-Kharj. This project was started by the United States Government to provide food and save shipping during the recent war, but it is now being carried on by American agricultural experts financed by the Government of Saudi Arabia. Almost two thousand acres of what was dry desert a few years ago are now green with lush fields of wheat and alfalfa, and well-irrigated plantings of watermelons, cantaloupe, and squash. Other crops successfully grown include lettuce, eggplant, tomatoes, broccoli, onions, carrots, beets, and cabbage.

"If it can be done here, it can be done in many places," the King is reported to have said after a recent visit to Al-Kharj. There is indeed good reason to think that enough water is flowing eastward underground to increase by ten times the amount of land now under cultivation in Arabia. The King's development program includes a water survey of the country, the building or repair of dams, the digging of wells at numerous likely places, and the installation of windmills and of diesel-driven pumps powered by the limitless oil that also flows from the Arabian sands — all in order to make the dry wadies of the Najd and Al-Hasa bloom.

Although a number of native hospitals now exist, the need of his people for modern medicine has become more than apparent to the King. As has already been noted, the Aramco hospitals and first-aid stations on the oil coast have met with widespread success; so also has the United States Legation clinic at Jidda. But the King is distressed that his people living in the thousand-mile stretch between Dhahran and Jidda do not have access to modern medical care. To meet their need, he has recently bought four packaged hospitals of 400 beds each and four surgical dressing stations of twenty-five beds each from U. S. army surplus, complete from operating tables to bedpans. One will be put up at his capital city, Riyadh, and another in the mountain town of Taif, the small but rapidly growing "Hill Station" for the Moslems of the Hijaz located 5,000 feet above sea level in the mountains one hundred miles inland from Jidda.

Of all projects the closest to the heart of the King is the modernization of transport within his realm. The story is told that when Ibn Saud and President Roosevelt held their famous meeting on the cruiser in the Great Bitter Lake in January 1945, Mr. Roosevelt asked how many miles of railroad there were in Saudi Arabia. The King was chagrined to admit that since the destruction of the Hijaz Railroad by T. E. Lawrence in World War I, there has not been a foot of usable track in all of Saudi Arabia. The backbone of Saudi Arabian transport is still the camel, plodding leisurely across the sands. Caravan merchants think little of spending eleven days on the trip from Dhahran to Riyadh, twenty-one days from Riyadh to Jidda, and a month from Kuwait

to Mecca. In recent years about 2,300 trucks have been imported by the King and private individuals. Most of these are of pre-war vintage; only about 1,500 are now running, and even these have reached an extreme state of breakdown and decay. They continue to wheeze along, held together by wire, hauling such products as wheat, rice, sugar, dates, and textiles along unimproved desert tracks. The only paved roads in the country are those along the forty mile stretch from Jidda to Mecca, and perhaps twenty miles of construction which Aramco has put in on the oil coast. The road built by the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate from Jidda to Mahd al-Dahab has been graded, improved, and scraped so that most of it is a race track compared to other Saudi Arabian trails, but even it would hardly be marked "good" on American maps.

It so happens that the King's capital at Riyadh is located on a soil and gravel island surrounded by shifting sands. To the north lies the Great Nufud Desert; to the south the even greater and largely unexplored "Empty Quarter," the Rub al-Khali. Because of prevailing winds, two great rivers of sand are constantly moving from the Nufud to the Rub al-Khali. These sand streams, the Dahna, vary from twenty-five to one hundred miles in width; they are made up of sand dunes from forty to one hundred feet in height, and move southward across a hard level gravel base at a rate of about thirty yards a year. To cross them, cars must have special oversized tires and other sand equipment. The engineering problem involved in building either a railroad or a highway through the Dahna is stupendous. But the experts who have studied the problem on the spot say that a means of communication can be built, even as it has been in California and the Sahara.

The great question is which of the two types it should be. A railroad is about one third more expensive to construct than a road, but maintenance is only one quarter as much; moreover, a train requires fewer and less skilled operators than does a fleet of trucks. Ibn Saud has had unfortunate experience with motor transport, which has been smashed by unskilled drivers, pounded to pieces by desert trails and shifting sands, and which has been operated under conditions that expose cars and their loads to constant pilferage. As a result, Ibn Saud favors a railroad system

for practical reasons as well as prestige; he wants the first link to run from Riyadh to the Persian Gulf, via the rich oasis of Hofuf and the oil towns of Abqaiq and Dhahran. After this line is completed, he would like to see the old Hijaz Railroad restored. Eventually these lines would be connected to form a single trans-Arabian system.

Early in November 1946 a party of transportation engineers arrived in Saudi Arabia for a detailed study of the relative merits of a railroad versus a road for the purposes of transportation across Arabia. Whichever way it is settled, one thing is certain: within the next few years Ibn Saud will have a much improved transportation system. The wandering Bedouins will be encouraged to settle down, while the already settled people of the Najd, Al-Hasa, and the Hijaz will be able to move about and come to know each other better. Drought in one part of the country will not mean famine, but increased trade with another province or imports from abroad. Politically and economically Saudi Arabia will begin to grow together. Simple local industries such as brickmaking, for which the first plant is already in operation, cement, glass, textiles, leather goods, and hardware will begin to spring up and their products to be distributed with an ease and speed now impossible.

This unification of Saudi Arabia will be speeded as well by aviation. In October 1946 King Ibn Saud signed an agreement with Trans-World Airways under which the latter will set up and operate an air line for him. The nucleus of this line will be the plane which President Roosevelt gave to the King in 1945, five surplus planes purchased by the Saudi Arabians in Cairo, and two new planes now being purchased in the United States. It is expected that this service will link Dhahran, Riyadh, Taif, and Jidda, with possible side-stops at the farm development at Al-Kharj, and eventually at the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate's gold mines near Mahd al-Dahab. It is possible that service will be extended also to Cairo and other parts of the Arab world. Once this line is in operation the present hard eight-hour motor trip from Jidda to Taif will take forty-five minutes, and the grueling five-day trek from Jidda to Dhahran will be a matter of less than six hours.

Two other methods of tying his kingdom together appeal to the King. The first of these is the telephone, which has been at his side day and night for the past ten years. He now plans to install switchboards in the main cities of Saudi Arabia and link them together with long-distance lines. Ibn Saud has also been convinced for some years of the importance of radio contacts with the outside world. Trusted interpreters monitor important broadcasts and news programs in all languages, and in times of crises bring hourly reports even to his tent in the desert. In order to improve his radio contact with the United States, the King has recently signed a contract with Mackay Radio, under which Mackay is building and will operate a powerful long-distance radio station at Jidda which, when tied in with Riyadh, Dhahran, and other important points in the country, will assure all principal centers uninterrupted radio contact with the outside world.

This, then, is the rough outline of the program which King Ibn Saud is formulating to modernize his kingdom. Even in a country so rich in oil as Saudi Arabia, its completion will not be possible for many years. The visit which Crown Prince Saud, the eldest of the King's thirty-seven sons, made to the United States in January and February of this year was with this program in mind, and was planned to include developments in this country which the King wants to see in his own. Thus particular attention was given to desert farming in Arizona, New Mexico, and Southern California, where American farmers are making the desert bloom under conditions very similar to those found in Arabia.

Saudi Arabia presents a situation which is ideally suited to the carrying out of a constructive developmental policy in the Near East: political stability, desire of the government for progress, and adequate funds. In vision, breadth of purpose, and eventual effect upon the widely scattered farmers and Bedouins as well as upon the merchants and city dwellers, Ibn Saud's plan is a landmark in the history of Arabia. By aiding such programs as this the United States, England, and other technically advanced countries of the world can truly help the peoples of the Near East to help themselves.

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DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY

DECEMBER 1, 1946—FEBRUARY 28, 1947

THE WINTER'S most dramatic development came in December with the reassertion of the Iranian Government's authority over the province of Azerbaijan. Yet the most portentous moves were made in London. While it remained impossible to evaluate the significance of the failure of Soviet Russia to support the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan in its effort to prevent the return of Iranian troops, and of the consequent eclipse of the Tudeh Party — for Moscow offered no elucidation of its policy — the statements which emanated from the British Labor Government in London promised to be of vital consequence to the post-war evolution of the whole Middle East.

Great Britain's attempts during the previous months to redefine its relations with the Middle Eastern states had met with little success. In January and February Britain not only admitted failure but clearly intimated that the burden of solving its Middle Eastern problems was beyond it, and that it was ready to surrender or at least share responsibility for them. To the Indians the British Government announced its intention of withdrawing by July 1948 whether India had achieved full political unity or not. To the Egyptians it announced its unwillingness to make further concessions regarding the Sudan. Egypt was equally adamant, and there the negotiations between the two countries came to an uneasy pause. To the world the Labor Government announced the failure of all attempts to reach a solution for the problem of Palestine, and therefore the

probability that it would throw the question into the lap of the United Nations. As March came, the significance of this trend was brought home to the U. S. by the announcement that Great Britain would be unable to continue its financial assistance to Greece, and by the suggestion that the U. S. share the burden.

Great Britain's inability to remain predominant in the Middle Eastern scene began to clear the scales for a new weighing of interests and balancing of powers. All factors became variables: the direction Britain's ties of empire would take; the degree of internal strength the Middle Eastern states would demonstrate as they began to make use of their increased freedom of action; the ultimate extent of Russia's objectives; the degree to which the United States would come to appreciate its interest in Middle Eastern stability; the role the United Nations would be able to play in setting a pattern for peaceful adjustment of international disputes. Little of a stabilizing nature had yet appeared. India showed no advance toward a solution of its communal dissension. The Arab League, potentially the strongest spokesman for the Arab States, made progress in a cultural sphere but politically was vitiated by crosscurrents among its members — the Saudi-Hashimite rivalry and the Greater Syria concept. Russia continued to play a largely negative but potentially positive role. The United States, partly owing to the continued impasse in Palestine, had not yet evolved or at least put into practice any

over-all policy. And finally, although many problems were pending, the United Nations had not yet been called upon to demonstrate its potentialities. The value of all these factors remained to be set.

Aden

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Jan. 6: Opening meeting of Aden's first Legislative Council, composed of 8 official and 8 unofficial members.

Arab League

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 2: The Arab League Council, meeting in its fifth session in Cairo, urged that the various Arab governments cable their delegates at UN to take action on informing President Truman and the U.S. Government that the Arabs resented U.S. interference in the Palestine problem.

Dec. 4-5: The Arab League decided that it would be the function of the Political Department to deal primarily with matters connected with the UN.

Dec. 7: The Arab League Council approved the draft aviation agreement which would apply among the Arab states, and also the model draft of treaties to be concluded between an Arab country and a foreign state.

Dec. 11: The League Council approved the following recommendations: (1) the putting into effect of the Bludan decisions regarding sanctions against Arabs selling land to Jews in Palestine; (2) the transfer of Arab funds for Palestine to the Arab Higher Executive at Jerusalem; (3) dispatch of a note on North Africa to the French Government.

Dec. 12: The Arab League Council adjourned until March, 1947.

1947

Jan. 3: The Arab League issued a statement supporting Egypt's demands for unity with the Sudan under the Egyptian crown.

Jan. 4: In a note to the British Embassy in Cairo the Arab League requested permission from the British Government for the entry of the Mufti, Hajj Amin Al-Husayni, into Palestine.

Egypt

The resignation of Sidqi Pasha as Prime Minister on December 8 and the subsequent series of talks which his successor, Nuqrashi Pasha, held with British Ambassador Sir Ronald Ian Campbell failed to effect a renewal of treaty negotiations with Great Britain. Attempts to reach agreement were finally broken off by Egypt on January 26. In the meantime, British forces were completing their evacuation from Cairo and Alexandria to the Canal Zone. The stumbling block remained the future status of the Sudan, and on this neither government would compromise its position. The immediate point of disagreement was whether, in the words of the protocol to the Bevin-Sidqi draft agreement of October 1946,¹ the promise to the Sudanese that they would be able to exercise "the right to choose the future status of the Sudan" was limited by "the framework of the unity between the Sudan and Egypt under the Crown of Egypt" or was free of it. Essentially, however, the impasse over this point reflected the degree of unwillingness of either side to weaken its position in an area which each regarded as of vital importance to its own interests.

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 1: The proposed trip of Nahhas Pasha, Wafd Party leader, to participate in an opposition rally at Tanta was forestalled by a Government ban against political meetings as announced on Nov. 30, 1946.

Dec. 5: The Wafd announced that Nahhas Pasha would not go to Tanta in order to avoid "the bloodshed of Egyptians by Egyptians."

Dec. 6: Nahhas Pasha sent to UN a note of protest against "the future that the British are trying to force on Egypt against the national will."

Dec. 8: Ismail Sidqi Pasha resigned as Prime Minister on grounds of ill health.

The Egyptian Government issued a communiqué reproving the governor-general of the Sudan, Sir Hubert Huddleston, for a statement made upon his return from London. The statement was to the effect that the Sudanese should be allowed to determine their own future status

¹For text see page 207.

— an announcement at variance with Prime Minister Sidqi's version of Attlee's position, namely, that the Sudan, although permitted to have self-government, would be under Egyptian sovereignty.

Dec. 9: Nuqrashi Pasha, leader of the Saadist Party, was asked to form a new cabinet.

The British Foreign Office issued a statement on the Sudan problem saying that the Sudanese would be allowed to decide their own future and "if they so desire . . . choose the status of an independent state . . . this is only one of the choices open to them — for example, they may choose union with Egypt."

Dec. 10: Nuqrashi Pasha was inducted as Prime Minister. His cabinet, a coalition of Saadists and Liberal Constitutionalists, contained the following members:

Mahmud Nuqrashi Pasha (Saadist) — Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and Minister of Interior

Ibrahim Dassuqi Abaza Pasha (Liberal Constitutional) — Minister of Communications

Abd al-Majid Salih Pasha (L.C.) — Minister of Public Works

Ahmad Khashaba Pasha (L.C.) — Minister of Justice

Ibrahim Abd al-Hadi Pasha (S.) — Minister of Finance

Abd al-Majid Badr Pasha (S.) — Minister of Commerce

Mahmud Hasan Pasha (S.) — Minister of Social Affairs (Labor)

Dr. Najib Iskandar Pasha (S.) — Minister of Public Health

Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri Pasha (S.) — Minister of Education

Ahmad Atiyah Pasha (L.C.) — Minister of Defense

Ahmad Abd al-Ghaffar Pasha (L.C.) — Minister of Agriculture

The portfolio of Minister of Waqfs was left open by Muhammad Alluba Pasha's refusal to assume the position due to his opposition to the Government's treaty policy.

Dec. 11: Riots resulting from political demonstrations in Asyut resulted in 3 dead and 67 injured.

Dec. 15: Payne Field, American wartime air base near Cairo, was turned over to the Egyptian Government, which renamed the field for King Farouk.

Dec. 16: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha received a vote of confidence — 150 to 21, with 7 abstentions.

Nuqrashi Pasha, in a public speech, stated his intentions of bringing about Egypt's inde-

pendence from foreign ties and Sudan's independence under the Egyptian crown.

Dec. 18: According to a Paris radio announcement Egypt recalled its Minister to Portugal, and the Egyptian Legation in Madrid would henceforth take charge of Egyptian affairs in Portugal.

Dec. 23: Farouk University in Alexandria was reopened.

Dec. 24: A hand grenade was thrown into the premises of the Anglo-Egyptian Union in Cairo.

Dec. 25: Fuad I University in Cairo was again fully reopened.

Dec. 28-30: Exchange of visits took place between Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha and British Ambassador Sir Ronald Ian Campbell, with the purpose of determining the possibility of resuming treaty negotiations.

Dec. 30: Speaking to the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies, Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha indicated he was awaiting a statement from London clarifying the British Government's attitude toward Egypt's desire for unification of the Sudan with Egypt. He expressed his opposition to Sir Hubert Huddleston's statements and to a proposal to appoint a Sudanese Grand Qadi to replace the Egyptian incumbent.

1947

Jan. 1: Egypt ended its term as a member of the UN Security Council, being replaced by Syria.

Jan. 3: The Arab League issued a statement supporting Egypt's demands for unity with the Sudan under the Egyptian crown.

Jan. 5: British Ambassador Sir Ronald Campbell and Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha conferred again regarding treaty negotiations.

Troop train enroute to Palestine was attacked with grenades near Benha by unknown persons; 11 British soldiers were wounded.

Jan. 6: Henri Curiel and 4 others arrested in June 1946 on charges of participation in communist activities were released.

Jan. 8: Ras al-Tin Citadel at Alexandria, long occupied by the British Admiral of the Fleet in the East Mediterranean, was turned back to the Egyptians by British authorities, thus completing British evacuation of Alexandria port.

Jan. 17: British Middle East headquarters announced that Gen. Sir Miles C. Dempsey, Commander of Middle East forces, had moved his residence from Cairo to the new base at Fayid on the Suez Canal.

Jan. 20: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha informed the Chamber of Deputies that Anglo-Egyptian talks on the future of the Sudan were continuing, and if they should prove unsuccessful another course for realization of Egypt's aspirations would be taken.

Jan 24: At a meeting with Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha, British Ambassador Sir Ronald Ian Campbell was believed to have given the British Government's final word on the subject of the deadlocked treaty negotiations.

Jan. 26: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha announced that Egypt had broken off negotiations with Britain for revision of the 1936 treaty and would submit the problem to the UN Security Council.

Jan. 27: At a session of the Chamber of Deputies, Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha formally announced that the Egyptian Government would appeal to the UN Security Council to end the British occupation of Egypt and to secure recognition of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan. The Chamber voted 175 to 115 (with 6 abstentions) in favor of this decision.

Foreign Secretary Bevin informed the House of Commons of the breakdown of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations for a revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. (Text of speech in *London Times*, Jan 28, 1947, page 4.) In his address, Bevin quoted the text of the Sudan protocol which he and the then Prime Minister of Egypt, Sidqi Pasha, had agreed upon in their discussions in London in the middle of October 1946. (For this excerpt from Bevin's speech see page 207.)

Jan. 29: Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha stated that all the member states of the Arab League fully supported Egypt's cause.

Jan. 30: An Egyptian Government commission accepted bids for the project of electrification of Aswan Dam. Among the bidders were three American firms.

Feb. 11: Ibrahim Abd al-Hadi Pasha, previously Finance Minister, was appointed *chef du cabinet*, the liaison between King and Government.

Feb. 14: British authorities turned over Fort Kom al-Dik at Alexandria to the Egyptian authorities. This marked the completion of British evacuation from Alexandria.

Feb. 18: The following cabinet changes were effected to fill the position left vacant by Ibrahim Abd al-Hadi Pasha's appointment as *chef du cabinet*:

Abd al-Majid Badr Pasha from Minister of Commerce to Minister of Finance;
Mamduh Riaz was appointed Minister of Commerce.

Feb. 21: The Egyptian Government announced that its agreement with Britain for the supply of hard currencies to Egypt had been extended to July 15, 1947.

Feb. 23: Fawzi al-Qawuqji, Arab nationalist, arrived in Cairo from wartime residence in Germany.

Feb. 25: It was officially announced that the British Government welcomed the offer of Syria and Lebanon to mediate in the deadlock over the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, thus possibly precluding the necessity of taking the matter to UN.

Feb. 26: British and Egyptian delegates opened official discussions in Cairo regarding settlement of Britain's debt to Egypt.

Ethiopia

December 19, 1946, marked the expiration of two years since the signing of the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1944 by which the Ethiopian Government agreed that "for the duration of this Agreement, the territories designated as the Reserved Area and the Ogaden . . . shall be under British Military Administration." Article XIII of the Agreement provided that it should remain in force until replaced by a treaty between Ethiopia and Great Britain, but that at any time after a period of two years had elapsed from the coming into force of the Agreement either party might give notice of a desire to terminate it. If notice was given, "the Agreement shall terminate three months after the date on which such notice is given."

Ethiopia agreed to the British Military Occupation of the Ogaden and the Reserved Area as a temporary measure to facilitate the war effort. Although both territories remained on paper, at least, under Ethiopian sovereignty, they came in reality under complete British control, an outcome which the Ethiopians considered an infringement of their independence. While the Ethiopian Foreign Office had issued no official statement by the end of February, in all likelihood an ending of the Anglo-Ethiopian agreement had been determined upon.

On the text of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, signed February 10, 1947, the Ethiopian Government likewise has made no official comment. However, its views are well known. Ethiopia has been moved ever since 1935 by a deep feeling of injustice done it. Fearful of the consequences of dependence on a great power, it has consistently directed its plea toward and pinned its hopes upon the instruments of collective justice and security. At the San Francisco Conference in May

1945 the Ethiopian Delegation made the necessary reservations with regard to the former colonies of Italy, particularly Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. These reservations were duly taken note of by the Conference; they were brought before the Council of Ministers in London in September 1945; and they were renewed at the February 1946 session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in London. In claiming Eritrea and Somaliland, Ethiopia was not seeking reparations but rather the righting of what it considered a wrong which for more than sixty years had deprived it, on the one hand, of the oldest part of the Empire, and, on the other, of access to the sea.

Part II, Section IV of the present treaty leaves the disposition of the Italian colonies to the Big Four alone. The Ethiopian view is that such a monumental task as a peace treaty should be discussed and drafted by the entire membership of the United Nations rather than by its most powerful minority. Concerning the reparations provided for in Section I of Part VI, the award of \$25,000,000 is in Ethiopian eyes a mere pittance. Ethiopia had placed before the Council of Foreign Ministers a claim for more than \$700,000,000 as indemnity for the injury and losses suffered by the Imperial Family, the Imperial Government, and by the people of Ethiopia since the Italian invasion in 1935.

WILLIAM M. STEEN

India

The Constituent Assembly, which met intermittently in New Delhi from December 9 to January 25, made little concrete progress toward framing a constitution for a unified India. In an effort to reach a basis of agreement, the Congress Party was constrained to make two concessions toward co-operation with the Moslem League and the Princely States. It agreed to the British interpretation, also upheld by the League, that decisions taken in the Assembly regarding group constitutions should be made by a simple majority of the group and be binding upon all states included in that group. The Congress had maintained that each province should be free to decide its own course in

this regard, but such an interpretation would have enabled the sizeable Hindu minorities in the "Pakistan" groupings to weaken seriously the strength of the Moslem League. In spite of this gesture, however, the League persisted in its refusal to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

The Congress Party's second concession was directed toward the Princely States and bade fair to win their co-operation: the Congress agreed that the States should be left free to determine the manner in which their representatives to a Central Government were to be chosen.

The British White Paper of February 20 declaring London's intention of transferring power in India to "responsible Indian hands" not later than June 1948¹ was termed "wise and courageous" by the Congress Party, which regarded it, with some reason, as an endorsement of efforts made thus far to realize responsible government in India. With this added prestige, and the probable co-operation of the Princely States in the Constituent Assembly, the Congress Party looked forward to being in a position to proceed with greater assurance when the Assembly reconvened in April.

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 1-2: Renewed rioting in Dacca, Bengal; outbreaks in Bombay continued.

Dec. 3: Indian delegates and Lord Wavell arrived in London for a conference on India, at which the British Government hoped to settle Hindu-Moslem differences before the meeting of the Indian Constituent Assembly.

Acting U.S. Secretary of State Acheson issued a statement on the occasion of the visit to London of the Indian leaders. (For text see Page 209.)

Dec. 4: Vallabhbhai Patel, Home Minister in the Interim Government, stated in Bombay that only in India could the Congress and Moslem League reach real understanding.

Curfew in force in Bombay since Sept. 1, 1946, was removed.

Dec. 5: At a Bombay meeting, Patel stated that Pakistan could not be obtained by violence and termed Mohammed Ali Jinnah's theory of an exchange of populations impractical.

Police fired on rioters in Calcutta and killed 3 people.

¹ For text see page 210.

Dec. 6: The British Government issued a statement at the conclusion of the London talks on India which reiterated the British stand on the India problem and stated that it would not enforce a constitution for India framed without representation of a "large section of the Indian population." (For text, see page 209.)

Asaf Ali, Congress Moslem, was named the first Ambassador from India to the U.S.

Bengal's Governor proclaimed a state of emergency in Calcutta.

An outbreak of serious disturbances in Ahmedabad resulted from Moslem processions carried out in spite of police prohibition.

Dec. 8: Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh returned to Delhi from London.

Dec. 9: Opening meeting of India's Constituent Assembly in New Delhi. The 75 Moslem League members did not attend.

Dec. 11: Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected permanent chairman of the Constituent Assembly.

The British Parliament was formally notified of the failure of the Hindu-Moslem talks in London.

Dec. 12-13: Pandit Nehru urged the Constituent Assembly to adopt a resolution for an independent sovereign republic of India.

Dec. 16: Pandit Nehru addressed the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, meeting in Calcutta.

Dec. 20: Sir Akbar Hydari was appointed to study India's foreign service needs.

Dec. 21: Mohammed Ali Jinnah returned to India from England.

Dec. 22: The Working Committee of the Congress Party decided against referring the controversy concerning provincial grouping in the proposed federal union to the Indian Federal Court.

Viscount Wavell returned to India from London.

Dec. 22-23: Sikhs in Calcutta protested against an official ban on the carrying of their symbolic weapons in religious parades.

Dec. 23: The Constituent Assembly was adjourned to Jan. 20, 1947.

Dec. 26: Curfew was reinstated in the Byculla district of Bombay; stabbing cases continued, totaling 20 in 2 days.

1947

Jan. 2: Mohandas K. Gandhi began his walking tour for peace in Bengal.

Jan. 3: Opening session at Delhi of the Indian Science Congress, attended by American and Russian scientists.

Jan. 6: The Congress Party adopted a resolution agreeing to follow in the Constituent Assembly

the procedure set forth in the Dec. 6, 1946 statement of the British Government in so far as sitting in sections is concerned.

Jai Prakash Narain and Sarat Chandra Bose announced their resignation from the Congress Party's Working Committee.

Jan. 7: The Interim Government underwent shifts which resulted in the distribution of portfolios as follows:

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Congress Moslem) — Education and the Arts

John Matthai (Indian Christian, independent) — Transport and Railways

C. Rajagopalachari (Congress Party) — Industries and Supplies

Jan. 9-10: Rioting in Bombay resulted in 14 dead and 127 wounded.

Jan. 14: Indian police raided communist party headquarters in New Delhi, Lahore, Calcutta, Bombay, Patna, Lucknow, and Benares.

Jan. 15: K.P.S. Menon was appointed India's first Ambassador to China.

Jan. 20: The Constituent Assembly reconvened in New Delhi.

Jan. 22: The Constituent Assembly adopted unanimously Pandit Nehru's resolution stating that the Assembly would "proclaim India as an independent sovereign republic." (Text in *New York Times*, Jan. 23, 1947, page 17.)

Jan. 24: The Punjab Provincial Government invoked a ban on the so-called "private armies" — the Moslem League National Guard and the Hindu Youth organization (Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh). Lahore offices of the two groups were searched by the police and 8 Moslem leaders were arrested. A Government statement defended the action on the grounds that its purpose was the prevention of the expansion of private communal armies. Riots broke out in Lahore as a result of the action and Moslems in Bombay called a protest strike.

The Constituent Assembly adopted a resolution for the appointment of a committee of 50 to study the "fundamental rights of minorities and tribal areas."

Jan. 25: The Constituent Assembly adjourned until April, 1947.

Riots and arrests resulting from the Jan. 24 Punjab ban continued in Lahore.

Jan. 26: The 8 Moslem leaders taken into custody by the police on Jan. 24 were released by the Punjab Government.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah called upon the Viceroy, Viscount Wavell, to intervene in the Punjab disturbances.

Jan. 28: The Punjab Government's ban on "private armies" was lifted though a previous or-

dinance prohibiting public speeches and meetings remained in force.

The Punjab Provincial Government imposed a 15-day news censorship.

Communist party headquarters in Bombay were again searched by the police. The editor of the communist weekly paper was arrested.

Jan. 29: British delegates arrived in New Delhi to confer with Indian representatives on the settlement of India's sterling credit, which equals almost \$5,000,000,000.

The Chamber of Princes passed a resolution expressing their decision to co-operate in framing a constitution for India.

Renewed rioting and arrests were reported in Punjab, as a result of Moslem League campaigns against the Provincial Government's ban on mass meetings and parades.

Jan. 31: The Moslem League Working Committee, in a resolution passed at Karachi, demanded the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, refused to enter the Constituent Assembly, and called on the British Government to declare that its Cabinet Mission plan for India had failed.

Major General L. G. Whistler was named the first "Major General British Troops in India," a post with advisory but not executive authority.

Hussain Imam, Moslem League leader, was appointed President of the Council of State.

Feb. 1: Conclusion of the 4-day session of the Working Committee of the Moslem League.

Feb. 4: President of the Lahore City Moslem League and 65 other Moslems were arrested for parading in defiance of the Punjab ban.

More than 600 were arrested in Lucknow for participating in banned religious processions.

Feb. 6: Congress Party leaders were reported to have placed before the Viceroy a demand for the removal of the Moslem League from the Interim Government if the League continued to remain outside the Constituent Assembly.

Feb. 8-9: Conference in New Delhi between representatives of the Indian Princes and the Constituent Assembly resulted in the reaching of an understanding and agreement that the manner of choosing popular representations from the Princely States would be left to the constitutional advisers of the Princes and the Constituent Assembly.

Feb. 10: On the 16th day of the mass civil disobedience campaign against the Punjab Provincial Government, Moslems broke into a courthouse in Lahore.

Communal disturbances recurring in Dacca, Bengal, resulted in 6 deaths.

Feb. 15: Preliminary discussions in New Delhi between British and Indian representatives on the subject of India's sterling credits were concluded.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel stated that the Congress Party would drop out of the Interim Government if the British Government did not compel the Moslem League to enter the Constituent Assembly.

Feb. 17: It was officially announced that India and France would exchange ambassadors.

Feb. 20: Parliament was informed of British policy for India by means of a White Paper read to the House of Commons by Prime Minister Attlee and to the House of Lords by the Secretary of State for India. In brief, British intentions were "to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948." (For text, see page 210.)

Lord Louis Mountbatten was named successor to Viscount Wavell as Viceroy of India.

Feb. 22: Pandit Nehru called Britain's statement on withdrawal from India "wise and courageous" and invited Moslem League co-operation in finding "integrated solutions" to India's problems of setting up an independent state.

Feb. 24: Following a month of Moslem League demonstrations in Punjab in defiance of a ban on demonstrations, a Sikh constable and a Moslem demonstrator were killed and more than 100 persons were injured in Amritsar; 400 demonstrators were arrested in Lahore. British troops were called out in Amritsar.

Feb. 25: U.S. Secretary of State Marshall issued a statement on India making clear the U.S. Government's interest in India's peaceful transition to full self-government. (For text, see page 212.)

Feb. 26: Punjab Provincial Government agreed to release the 1500 persons arrested during the Moslem League's 34-day mass civil disobedience campaign and to remove its ban on political meetings. Though the ban on political processions was not removed, tension was greatly eased in Punjab.

Feb. 28: Asaf Ali presented to President Truman his letters of credence as first Ambassador of India to the U.S.

Iran

The pattern for the parliamentary elections, which pursued their leisurely course throughout the winter, was set early in

December by the Iranian Government's dramatic reassertion of its authority in Azerbaijan. The tremendous prestige which accrued to the government because of its success in this move, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Tudeh Party from participation in the election cleared away all effective opposition to Prime Minister Qavam's Democratic Party of Iran. By the end of February some sixty delegates from Tehran and a few provincial points had been elected, almost entirely from among government-supported candidates.

Following up the dispersal of the leaders of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, a few of whom were caught but most of whom returned to Russia, and the reorganization of the Tudeh Party into a group professedly loyal to Tehran, the Central Government proceeded to stern measures toward those Kurdish groups which had been implicated in the Azerbaijan revolt. Their most prominent leader, Qazi Mohammad, was condemned to death and a number of his followers actually executed. At the same time the government began negotiations with the tribes of the south, in particular with Nasir Khan, the leader of the Qashqai, for a further settlement of the disturbed areas in that direction and a reassertion of governmental authority over them. The winter months thus were occupied with the re-establishment of order in Iran along lines which differed little from those of earlier days.

In Tehran the events of the previous eighteen months had produced a leader of some prestige and power in Prime Minister Qavam, but had increased even more the prestige of the Shah and the army. In his support, Qavam might look to the new Majlis and to powerful tribal groups provided satisfactory relations might be worked out with them. But important problems still confronted a reconstituted government. A decision in regard to Qavam's 1946 oil agreement with the Soviet Union was still pending, and would involve the fundamental question of Russo-Iranian relations. The disruption of the Tudeh and the autonomous movement in Azerbaijan in no way pointed toward an abandonment of Soviet interest. Indeed, the arrival in Iran, late in February,

of a commission representing the World Federation of Trade Unions to investigate the Iranian Government's treatment of labor was taken by many to indicate continued Communist interest in the welfare of the laboring classes.

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 2: Premier Qavam declared that elections for the 15th Majlis would be held as scheduled, despite risks of civil strife.

Dec. 4: Border village, Rajin, between Azerbaijan and Iran proper was captured from Azerbaijani Democrats by tribesmen for the Central Government.

Dec. 6: Iranian Ambassador to the U.S., Hussein Ala, informed the UN Security Council that the Central Government would send troops into Azerbaijan Province to supervise elections. (Text in *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1946, page 8.)

U.S. Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson, in a news conference, defended the right of Iran to send troops into its northern provinces.

Premier Qavam announced that election inspectors would be sent to all districts to supervise the elections.

Dec. 8: The Iranian Government suppressed two newspapers, *Rahbar* and *Zafar*, which had been publishing attacks on U.S. policy in Iran.

The Azerbaijan Provincial Government announced that it would hold its elections independently of Tehran. Premier Qavam wired the Governor of Azerbaijan that such elections would be illegal.

Dec. 10: Central Government troops entered Azerbaijan.

Dec. 11: The Azerbaijani Democrats capitulated to the Central Government and agreed to Central Government supervision of the elections in Azerbaijan.

Jaafar Pishevari, leader of the Azerbaijani Democrats, and General Danishiyan, Commander-in-Chief of the Democrat army, as well as several hundred followers, were reported to have fled across the Russian border.

Dec. 13: Central Government forces entered Tabriz.

Demonstrations against Tudeh Party members denounced as Soviet "stooges" occurred in Tehran.

Two Tudeh Party leaders, Iraj Iskandari and Dr. Fereidun Kishavarz, disappeared from sight in Tehran.

Dec. 14: Miyanduab, Azerbaijan, capitulated to Central Government forces.

Dec. 15: Qazi Mohammad, Kurdish leader, surrendered to the Central Government.

Dec. 16: The Tudeh Party announced it would boycott the coming elections.

Dec. 17: The Iranian Government protested to Russia because Russian frontier guards at Astara had permitted fleeing Azerbaijani rebels to enter the U.S.S.R.

Dec. 20: According to the Moscow radio, Salamollah Javid and President Shabostari of the Azerbaijan Provincial Council were under Central Government arrest in Tehran.

Dec. 22: Premier Qavam presented his revised cabinet for the Shah's approval. The new members were:

Mohammad Ali Homayunjah — Foreign Minister

Ahmad Aramesh — Minister of Labor and Propaganda

Gholam Hussein Furuhar — Minister of Roads and Propaganda

Fereiduni — Minister of Interior

Mohammad Hakimi — Acting Minister of Posts and Telegraphs

Dec. 24: According to Tehran newspaper accounts, Mulla Mustafa Barzani and other Kurdish chieftains were negotiating concerning the possibility of surrendering to the Iranian Government or of receiving permission to return to Iraq.

Dec. 31: It was announced that the ban was lifted on the following Iranian newspapers: *Rahbar*, *Zafar*, *Iran-i Ma*, and *Iradeh-i Melli*.

1947

Jan. 1: Deputy Ghassem Fooladvand was arrested on orders from Premier Qavam.

Jan. 3: Ali Mansur, former Prime Minister (1940-41), left Tehran to take over as Governor-General of Azerbaijan.

Jan. 7: Formation of a coalition group of members of the Majlis opposing Premier Qavam's agreement with Russia on oil concessions in north Iran was announced by Reza Afshar. The group included Radical Socialists, National Unity Party, People's Party, and University Students Union.

Jan. 11: The elections for a new Iranian Majlis began in Tehran.

Jan. 12: In protest against the Central Government's method of conducting the elections, Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh, leader of a coalition of opposition parties, and 36 independent parliamentary candidates sought "royal refuge" at the Palace of the Shah.

Jan. 13: Government troops guarded the Palace of the Shah to prevent an increase in the number of those protesting election methods.

Jan. 21: Vehimullah Khan, Afghan Ambassador to Iran, arrived in Tehran.

Jan. 23: Qazi Mohammad, Kurdish leader, was reported by a Jerusalem radio broadcast to have been sentenced to death by an Iranian military court.

Feb. 3: Elections in Tehran were ended.

Feb. 5: Eleven Kurdish supporters of Qazi Mohammad's Kurdish movement were hanged in Saqqiz.

Feb. 13: Reza Rusta, President of the Central Labor Union, was removed from his post by anti-communist factions in the union.

Feb. 21: Mohammad Nasir Khan, chief tribal leader in Fars Province, arrived in Tehran to discuss disarmament with the Central Government so that the tribes might vote in the parliamentary elections.

Feb. 22: An Iranian Army official stated that troops of the Central Government had occupied Ushnuiyeh, the town where the Barzani (Iraq) Kurds were quartered.

Feb. 23: Central Government forces defeated a rebel band led by Zarobeg and composed of former "Democratic" Kurds, Armenians, and Assyrians in Ghasemloo Valley.

Feb. 25: An extension of a month was given to the Barzani Kurds to withdraw from Iran. They had been ordered to leave on Feb. 20 but were detained by heavy snows on the passes.

Three World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) delegates, two of them well-known Communists, arrived in Tehran to "investigate the labor situation" in Iran.

Iraq

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 14: Iraq was elected for 3-year membership on the UN Trusteeship Council by the General Assembly.

Dec. 30: Ali Mumtaz, Minister of Communications and Works, and Muhammad Hadid, Minister of Supplies, resigned from the cabinet.

1947

Jan. 1: Abd al-Ilah Hafidh was named Minister of Communications and Works;

Abd al-Hadi al-Chalabi was appointed Minister of Supplies.

Two additional cabinet members resigned: Sadiq al-Bassam, Minister of Education, and Salih Jabir, Minister of Finance.

Jan. 19: The leader of the Iraqi Communist Party, Yusuf Salman, alias Fahad, and 5 mem-

bers of the Central Committee were arrested in Baghdad.

Feb. 15: George Wadsworth, first U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, presented his letters of credence to Prince Abdul Ilah.

Lebanon

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 7: The cabinet of Saadi Al-Munla resigned.

Dec. 15: New Lebanese cabinet was announced, as follows:

Riad al-Sulh — Prime Minister

Sabri Himadah — Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of Interior

Henri Pharaon — Foreign Minister

Gabriel Murr — Minister of Public Works

Abdallah al-Yafi — Minister of Justice

Majid Arslan — Minister of Defense

Camille Chamoun — Minister of Finance

Kamal Jumlat — Minister of National Economy and Agriculture

Dr. Ilyas Khuri — Minister of Health and Education

Dec. 31: The evacuation of all French troops from Lebanon was completed.

1947

Jan. 29: The Lebanese Government approved the purchase of the Naqura-Tripoli railway line for LLS 5,000,000, according to a Jaffa radio report.

North Africa

As a conference on North African Arab affairs got under way in Cairo with the aim of co-ordinating and giving direction to all nationalist groups in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, the French Government gave evidence of embarking upon a fresh policy toward the Arab populations under its jurisdiction. Developments pointing in this direction included the appointment of Georges Gorse, a young Socialist deputy, as Under-Secretary for Moslem Affairs, the selection of an Algerian Moslem as France's first Minister to Saudi Arabia, and the naming of a new Resident-General in Tunisia. The demands of the group in Cairo, however, remained extreme, and included a proclamation of independence for all the French territories of North Africa. Arab

League recognition of its activities was indicated by the fact that Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the League, served as honorary president of the conference.

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 2: Details of a decree issued for the formation of a special council in Spanish Morocco and modification of the administration were announced over the Madrid radio.

Habib Bourguiba, Neo-Destourian leader, arrived in the U.S. to present his case for Tunisian independence to the UN delegations and the U.S. Department of State.

1947

Jan. 3: It was reported from Cairo that a new party had been formed in Tripolitania with aims of "unity with Egypt, a common defense plan and a common foreign policy," and of thwarting "alleged British efforts to dominate Libya."

Jan. 19: It was reported from Paris that King Ibn Saud had approved the appointment of Saadeddin Ben Cheneb, an Algerian Moslem, as French Minister to Saudi Arabia.

Feb. 8: Newspaper item from Paris reported that the French Government would soon release Abd al-Karim, exiled to Reunion Island for activities in the Rif war of 1925, and would permit him to take up residence on the Riviera.

Feb. 12: The Spanish delegation to the Arab League Council was received by King Farouk and Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League.

Feb. 15-24: Conference on North African Arab affairs in Cairo attempted to co-ordinate efforts of all groups to obtain full independence for Tunisia, Algeria, French and Spanish Morocco, and eventually to make a joint appeal to the UN. Honorary president of the conference was Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha.

Feb. 21: Jean Mons was named Resident-General in Tunisia in replacement of General Charles Mast.

Feb. 24: At the conclusion of the Conference on North African Arab affairs the following aims were announced: (1) abolition of the French protectorates in Tunisia and Morocco and the nonrecognition of French rights in Algeria; (2) the proclamation of the independence of those countries; (3) total evacuation of foreign troops; (4) refusal to participate in a French Union in any form.

Oil

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 26: It was announced that Standard Oil of New Jersey would buy about 30% and Socony-Vacuum Oil Company 10% of the holdings of the Arabian American Oil Company.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company announced the "conclusion in principle of agreements for the sale of substantial quantities of crude oil to Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum Oil Company over a period of years."

Dec. 30: Anglo-Iranian Oil Company announced that its oil output from Jan. 1 to Sept. 30, 1946, was 14,296,000 tons.

1947

Jan. 9: The U.S. rejected a French protest of a few days before that Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum, by buying into the Arabian American Oil Company, would violate the 1928 "Red Line" agreement on Middle East oil concessions.

Jan. 10: California Texas Oil Company, Ltd. announced the purchase of the European and North African marketing subsidiaries of the Texas Company.

Two new companies were formed by California Texas Oil Company: Caltex Oceanic, Ltd. (to handle petroleum products processed in the Persian Gulf), and Caltex Oil Products Company (to handle special oil by-products).

Feb. 23: It was announced that contracts for the construction of a Saudi Arabian pipe line to the sea (at a cost of an estimated \$100,000,000) had been given a group of 5 American engineering companies.

Palestine

Neither the deliberations of the World Zionist Congress, which met in Basle during December, nor the efforts of the British Government to evolve an acceptable plan, nor the resolutions of the Arab League meeting in Cairo, brought the problem of Palestine any nearer a solution. On the contrary, divisions were emphasized, not only among these groups but to a certain degree within them. The sharp division between moderate and extremist Zionist groups characterized the Basle meetings, but did not go deep enough for the Jewish

Agency in Palestine to be willing to assist the British authorities in their efforts to suppress terrorism. A revised British plan for a division of Palestine into autonomous areas met with no more favorable response from any group than had previous proposals. The deadlock was finally admitted when Foreign Minister Bevin announced on February 14 that the British Cabinet had approved a proposal to place the problem of Palestine before the United Nations. The Arab States, with direct representation in the U. N. expressed general satisfaction at this development; the Zionists the contrary. What solution the U. N. could offer or how it would be enforced was hard to foresee, but in any case by this move Palestine was becoming even more a question of international importance.

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 1: Field Marshal Montgomery left Palestine.

Dec. 2: British War Office announced British casualties in Palestine from July to October 1946 resulting from terrorist attacks: 3 officers and 28 men killed, 3 officers and 17 men wounded.

Four British soldiers were killed by a bomb on the Jaffa road; one British soldier was killed near Haderah; British soldier was killed in Haifa by a mine.

Dec. 3: Jamal al-Husayni, acting chairman of the Arab Higher Executive, asserted that the U.S. could remain in the Middle East only through force of arms if President Truman continued his support of Palestine Jews.

Dec. 5: Stern Group attacked Sarafand military base.

Haganah issued ultimatum to Irgun Zvai Leumi (IZL) threatening "drastic steps" unless terrorism was stopped.

Dec. 6: U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes announced that the U.S. would send an observer to the London Conference on Palestine scheduled for Jan. 1947, if Arab and Jewish leaders also attended.

Dec. 7: A ship carrying almost 800 unauthorized Jewish immigrants was wrecked near Syrina in the Aegean Sea.

Dec. 9: The 22nd World Zionist Congress held its opening session in Basle, Switzerland.

Dec. 10: 756 Jews, who had been in detention in Cyprus, arrived in Palestine with immigration certificates under the quota.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann was elected president of the World Zionist Congress.

Dec. 11: Salamah, Arab village near Jaffa, was raided by a group of armed members of Haganah, who abducted the cousin of the *mukhtar*, suspected of having robbed a Jewish arms cache.

Dec. 14: Unauthorized Jewish immigrants shipwrecked near Syrina were brought to Cyprus. Palestine Government announced that all women and children of this group would be admitted to Palestine, while the men would be detained at Cyprus.

Dec. 16: The Colonial Office announced that the Palestine Government would divide the 1500 monthly immigration quota evenly between Jewish refugees in detention in Cyprus and those in the British zone in Germany.

The Palestine Government announced that more than 11,500 Jews who tried to enter Palestine without permits in 1946 had been granted immigration certificates from the 1946 quota of 18,000.

The Colonial Office agreed to allow 300 Jewish men of the vessel shipwrecked near Syrina to enter Palestine.

Dec. 17: The British Colonial Secretary announced the estimated cost of the Cyprus detention camps to April 1947 would be \$7,600,000, to be paid by the Palestine Government.

It was announced at the World Zionist Congress in Basle that the 1947 budget of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was to be \$60,000,000.

Dec. 21: The Arab Higher Executive presented to the High Commissioner of Palestine a resolution stating that Arabs in Palestine would pay no taxes to the government if it meant helping finance Jewish immigration.

Dec. 24: The 22nd World Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, terminated its sessions.

Dec. 27: A Jewish youth received 18 strokes by cane, as sentenced on Dec. 11, 1946.

Dec. 28: The following were elected to the new three-party, coalition Zionist Executive by the General Council of the World Zionist Congress:

General Zionists: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (Washington), Emmanuel Neumann (Washington), Prof. Selig Brodetsky (London), Dr. Nahum Goldmann (London), Fritz Bernstein (Jerusalem), Dr. Moshe Sneh (Jerusalem), Isaac Gruenbaum (Jerusalem), Mrs. Rose Halperin (Washington).

Labor: David Ben Gurion (Jerusalem), Moshe Shertok (Washington), Eliezer Kaplan (Jerusalem), Mrs. Golda Meyerson (Jerusalem), Berl Locker (London), Chaim Greenberg (Washington), Eliahu Dobkin (Jerusalem).

Mizrachi: Rabbi Judah Leib Fishman (Jeru-

salem), Rabbi Wolf Gold (Washington), Moshe Shapiro (Jerusalem), Shlomo Z. Shragai (Jerusalem).

No president was chosen. Ben Gurion was elected chairman of the Executive, and Fishman and Gruenbaum were elected vice-chairmen.

Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin, head of the Political Action Committee for Palestine, requested IZL to cease terrorist activities, while he reported Zionist aims to the American people.

Dec. 29: The IZL kidnaped and flogged a British officer in Nathanyah as reprisal for the flogging of an IZL member apprehended and punished for participation in a Jaffa bank robbery. Three British sergeants received similar treatment in other parts of Palestine.

Dec. 30: 750 immigrants from Cyprus were landed at Haifa and taken to Athlit camp.

Dec. 31: Losses from terrorist action in 1946, according to official announcement, were 28 policemen killed and 35 wounded, 45 Army and R.A.F. personnel killed and 93 wounded, and 300 civilians killed or wounded.

1947

Jan. 1: The IZL broadcast the announcement that it would not cease its terrorist activities as Rep. Baldwin had requested on Dec. 28, 1946.

IZL leaflets announced the end of its three-week truce in attacks against British forces in Palestine.

Dov Gruner, IZL participant in the Apr. 23, 1946 raid on Ramat Gan police headquarters, was sentenced to death by a British military court.

Jan. 2: Terrorist attacks in 5 cities brought to an end three weeks of relative quiet in Palestine. Attacks were made on British military headquarters in Tel Aviv; a series of explosions occurred in Jerusalem; flame-throwers were used in a raid on a military car park in Tiberias.

The Arab Higher Executive announced the appointment of 5 new members: Rafiq al-Tamimi, Izzat Darwazah, Ishaq Darwish, Muin Bey al-Madi, and Hasan Abu al-Saud. Darwazah, Darwish, and Abu al-Saud were still in enforced exile, the first in Damascus and the latter two in Cairo.

Jan. 3: Lieut. Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, High Commissioner for Palestine, arrived in London for consultations with British officials.

Sir Henry Gurney, acting for the High Commissioner, issued an ultimatum to the Jewish Agency warning that failure to curb terrorist activity would lead to drastic countermeasures against the entire Jewish population.

Stephen S. Wise, one of the founders of the

Zionist Organization of America, announced his withdrawal from office in that group.

Jan. 4: Non-fraternization decree was issued to British troops by British military headquarters. All places of entertainment, except movie theaters, were placed off limits for British troops.

In a note to the British Embassy in Cairo the Arab League requested permission from the British Government for the entry of the Mufti, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, into Palestine.

Jan. 5: The Arab League announced it had accepted Britain's invitation to the January London Conference on Palestine.

Jan. 8: The British, in a raid on Rishon le-Zion and Rehovot, arrested 32 suspected IZL members.

Jan. 10: Jamal al-Husayni was informed by the Acting High Commissioner that the Arab Higher Executive would be permitted to name its delegates to the London Conference.

Jan. 12: District police headquarters in Haifa were damaged by explosion of a truck loaded with explosives. Two British policemen and 2 Arab temporary constables were killed.

Jan. 13: Lieut. Gen. Sir Evelyn Barker, British commander in Palestine, conferred in Cairo with Gen. Sir Miles C. Dempsey, Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East.

British military quarters in Cairo reported that the Third Division was being transferred from the Suez Canal Zone to Palestine.

Jan. 15: Delegates to the London Conference on Palestine were announced by the Palestine Arab Higher Executive: Jamal al-Husayni, Emile al-Ghuri, Fakhri Husayn al-Khalidi, and Muin al-Madi.

Jan. 17: Sir Alan Cunningham returned from London.

British authorities widened censorship bans.

Jan. 22: The British Colonial Secretary reported that 73 British subjects — 45 soldiers, 15 policemen, 13 civilians — were killed by terrorists in Palestine in 1946.

Sir Henry Gurney, Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government, announced that terrorism had cost the taxpayers at least \$2,400,000 in 1946.

The IZL rejected the peace appeal extended by the Jewish Agency and Vaad Leumi.

Jan. 24: Lieut. Gen. Sir Evelyn Barker, British commander in Palestine, confirmed the death sentence of Dov Gruner, IZL member captured during the attack on Ramat Gan police station, Apr. 23, 1946.

Jan. 26: H.A.I. Collins, British business man, was kidnaped from his home in Jerusalem by 5 members of IZL.

Jan. 27: Judge Ralph Windham was kidnaped from the court room in Tel Aviv by IZL members.

Conference on Palestine called by the British Government resumed its London sessions after adjournment from Oct. 2, 1946. Zionist representatives refused to participate although they were present in London for informal talks with British officials. At the opening session the representatives of the Palestine Arabs presented a statement opposing any plan for partition of Palestine.

Jan. 28: Judge Ralph Windham was released by his kidnapers.

Jan. 29: The British Cabinet decision to work out a system of partition of Palestine was announced in the press.

H. A. I. Collins was released by his kidnapers.

Jan. 31: The High Commissioner of Palestine ordered the evacuation of British women and children and nonessential civilians from Palestine.

Dov Gruner, sentenced to death for IZL terrorist activities, decided not to appeal his case.

Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, suggested the Palestine problem be turned over to UN if the U.S. would not share British responsibility in Palestine.

Feb. 2: The Jewish Agency refused to assist the government in apprehending terrorists if it meant they must act as informers against their own people.

The first clash since the war between IZL and Haganah members occurred in Tel Aviv when members of IZL attempted to remove Haganah posters.

Feb. 3: Palestine Government issued an ultimatum to the Jewish Agency to co-operate within 7 days with the police in the attempt to halt terrorism or face the imposition of martial law.

Feb. 5: British ultimatum of Feb. 3 was rejected by the Vaad Leumi in Palestine.

Certain Jerusalem residential areas were divided into 4 security zones by the British, causing some 1000 persons to be evacuated from their homes. Similar measures were taken in Tel Aviv and Haifa.

British Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones announced that the High Commissioner in Palestine had been given authority to impose military law in any part of Palestine.

Feb. 6: British military forces moved into the new security compounds set up in Jerusalem.

The reported escape of Itzhak Yesternitsky (Sternist leader), Arie Ben-Eliezer (Irgun leader), and 3 others from detention in Eritrea was confirmed by the police.

Feb. 7: Three Jewish settlements were set up in the Negeb near the Egyptian border.

British officials announced the completion of the evacuation of British women and children: 1,396 persons had been taken out of Palestine, in addition to those moved to England by air.

New British five-year plan for Palestine was submitted to the Arab delegates and Zionist representatives in London. (Text in *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1947, page 12).

Feb. 8: British military authorities took full control of Jerusalem, with all "essential" personnel living in fortified areas.

Arab delegates to the London Conference on Palestine rejected Britain's compromise proposal for Palestine.

Feb. 9: Over 600 unauthorized immigrants arrived at Haifa aboard the *Merica Napoli*.

Feb. 10: Jewish Agency for Palestine and Vaad Leumi formally refused to co-operate with the British in acting against terrorism, as requested on Feb. 3.

Three members of IZL, who had been apprehended Dec. 29, 1946, were sentenced to be hanged for "carrying weapons." A fourth terrorist was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Palestine Arab Higher Executive termed the Feb. 7, 1947 British proposal for Palestine "open aggression against the Arabs' rights." Notes were addressed to Arab states and leaders urging them to oppose the plan.

Feb. 11: Tel Aviv was the scene of fighting between members of IZL and the anti-terrorist ha-Shomer ha-Zair.

British army took over sections of the Jewish Agency's quarters for military police use.

The unauthorized Jewish immigrants taken from the *Merica Napoli* arrived for detention in Cyprus.

Feb. 12: At a meeting with Arab delegates at the London Conference on Palestine, Foreign Secretary Bevin stated he planned to submit the Palestine problem to the UN.

Feb. 13: Lieut. Gen. G. H.A. MacMillan became Commander-in-Chief of British forces in Palestine and Transjordan, replacing Lieut. Gen. Sir Evelyn Barker.

Foreign Secretary Bevin held a final session with representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and announced that Britain would submit, subject to Cabinet approval, the Palestine problem to UN "without recommendations."

A government-owned fishing launch was sunk and a military landing craft was damaged in Haifa harbor by Haganah personnel.

New security measures prohibited movement from one of the four barbed-wire enclosures to

another in Jerusalem. "Cantonization" schemes were effected in Jaffa and Haifa.

British troops began taking over premises of the Jewish National Fund.

Feb. 14: At the final session of the London Conference on Palestine, Foreign Secretary Bevin formally announced that the British Cabinet had approved his proposal to take the Palestine problem to UN.

(Text of joint British-Arab announcement on the conclusion of the London Conference on Palestine in *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1947, page 1.)

Official announcement was made of Lieut. Gen. Sir Evelyn Barker's confirmation of the death sentences imposed on three terrorists and life imprisonment of the fourth as given on Feb. 10, 1947.

Feb. 15: An Arab in Jaffa and a Jew in Bnei Braq were assassinated; a Jew was kidnaped by Jewish youths in Petah Tikvah.

The ha-Shomer ha-Zair club in Haifa was set afire.

Sheikh Ali Shankin, former Jaffa mayor, was murdered by an unknown Arab.

Feb. 17: British forces boarded the *Herut* with 800-950 unauthorized Jewish immigrants aboard.

Feb. 19-20: The Irgun Zvai Leumi cut the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipe line to Haifa in two places, and attacked an RAF station at Ein Shemer with mortars.

Feb. 20: British Government published a White Paper on Palestine containing: (a) Morrison-Grady Provincial Autonomy Plan for Palestine; (b) Arab counter-proposals as presented to the London Conference, Sept. 1946; and (c) British five-year plan of Feb. 7, 1947. (H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 7044.)

The Palestine Administration issued figures on the allocation of immigration certificates for the two month period ending Feb. 14, 1947. They were as follows:

1500	— to Cyprus detainees
180	— to Palestine veterans and their families
124	— to unauthorized immigrants reported by the police and not hitherto deducted from the quota
640	— to the Control Commission of the British zone in Germany
556	— issued by the department of migration in Palestine

—
3000 — Total

Feb. 21: Arab Higher Executive published details concerning the raising of an \$800,000 fund by Palestinian Arabs.

Feb. 22: It was reported that the *Ben Hecht*, carrying over 600 unauthorized Jewish immigrants, was sighted off the coast of Palestine.

Feb. 25: In opening a House of Commons debate on Palestine, Foreign Secretary Bevin asserted that President Truman's statement in Oct. 1946 urging the admission of 100,000 into Palestine had seriously injured Bevin's negotiations for a meeting ground for Arabs and Jews. (Excerpts of text in *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1947, page 15.)

Feb. 26: A White House statement was issued in Washington in defense against Bevin's accusations in the House of Commons. (Text in *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1947, page 1.)

Feb. 28: British personnel intercepted the *Haim Arlosoroff* (formerly the *Uloa*) inside Palestine's three-mile limit and removed the refugees to British ships.

The offices of a British shipping firm were wrecked by a bomb explosion on the third floor of Barclay's Bank Building in Haifa.

The Jewish Community Council of Jerusalem filed a habeas corpus petition against 9 respondents in an effort to prevent transshipment of the passengers of the *Haim Arlosoroff*.

Saudi Arabia

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Jan. 13: Amir Saud, Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, arrived in the U.S. for an official visit.

Jan. 17: British headquarters in Cairo announced that a British army mission had been formed at King Ibn Saud's request to advise that country on training its armed forces, and that Brig. Gen. J. E. A. Baird, head of the mission, had already gone to Saudi Arabia.

Jan. 19: It was reported from Paris that King Ibn Saud had approved the appointment of Saadeddin Ben Cheneb as French Minister to Saudi Arabia.

Jan. 21: King Ibn Saud arrived at Dhahran to visit American installations there.

Jan. 25: King Ibn Saud met more than 250 American women and children at a reception in Dhahran.

Feb. 18: President Truman awarded the Legion of Merit to King Ibn Saud and his son, Amir Saud, for their aid to the Allied cause in World War II.

Syria

Basically a problem involving all the Arab states, the Greater Syria project met

its strongest opposition in Damascus. Sponsored by one school of Arab nationalists for over a generation, it had found its most popular expression under the leadership of King Faysal I of Iraq. Its more recent advocacy by King Abdallah of Transjordan received little backing beyond that offered by the old school of political leaders in Iraq. The reasons appeared to be three-fold: King Abdallah was not in a position to command the wide Arab support which might have rallied to his brother Faysal; the scheme was no longer a native movement initiated by Arab nationalists; and its promotion could seriously undermine the Arab League, toward which the combined strength of current Arab nationalism had directed its attention with a fair degree of success. In Syria itself Abdallah's advocacy of the project touched a sensitive spot in the light of his January visit to Turkey and the conclusion of a Turko-Transjordanian Treaty of Friendship. The original project envisaged a state which included — together with present-day Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan — the low-lands of southern Turkey and the former Syrian Sanjak of Alexandretta, the present Turkish province of Hatay to whose loss Syria has never become reconciled. Abdallah's policy, therefore, had assumed an anti-Syrian aspect in the eyes of the Syrians; it was to them at once a corruption of an old ideal and a negation of more recent trends toward Arab co-operation.

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 16: Sulayman al-Murshid, Alawite leader convicted of murder, was hanged in Damascus.

Dec. 21: The Syrian Aviation Company began air services from Damascus to Baghdad, Cairo, and Jidda.

Dec. 24: The Syrian cabinet with Saadullah Jabri as Prime Minister resigned.

Dec. 28: A new Syrian cabinet composed as follows was formed:

Jamil Mardam — Prime Minister and Minister of Interior

Naim Antaki — Minister of Foreign Affairs

Sa'id Ghazzi — Minister of Finance

Ahmad Sharabati — Minister of Defense

Hikmat Hakim — Minister of National Economy

Adil Arslan — Minister of Education

Adnan Atassi — Minister of Justice and Public Works

1947

Jan. 1: Syria replaced Egypt as a member of the UN Security Council.

Jan. 2: Patrick Stratford Scrivener, a Foreign Office Counselor, was appointed British Minister to Syria.

Feb. 17: Announcement was made of the completion of negotiations for co-operation of Pan American World Airways with the Syrian Aviation Company.

Transjordan

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 15: The Arab News Agency reported that Musallam al-Attar Pasha, Minister of the Interior, had resigned and was replaced by Abd al-Mahdi Bey.

Dec. 30: Amir Faysal, Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, arrived in Amman for talks with King Abdallah.

1947

Jan. 7: King Abdallah arrived in Turkey.

Jan. 10: In a press conference at Ankara, King Abdallah called for a Turko-Arab bloc including Iran, Afghanistan, North Africa, and Pakistan if it develops.

Jan. 11: A 10-year Turko-Transjordan Treaty of Friendship was signed at Ankara. (For text see page 212.)

Jan. 19: King Abdallah returned from his visit to Turkey.

Feb. 6: Ibrahim Pasha al-Hashim resigned as Prime Minister, and a new cabinet was appointed as follows:

Samir Pasha al-Rifai — Prime Minister,
Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Defense
Shakin Amin Shanqiti — Minister of Education, principal ecclesiastical judge

Abbas Pasha Mirza — Minister of Interior
Umar Bey Matar — Minister of Communications, Agriculture, and Commerce

Sulayman Bey Nabulsi — Minister of Finance

Bisharah Bey Ghasib — Minister of Justice

Turkey

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Dec. 5: Turkey and Czechoslovakia signed a

Commercial Agreement which provided for mutual extension of a credit of \$9,000,000 for trade, to be effective from Dec. 15, 1946 to Apr. 1, 1948.

Dec. 15: The new Turkish Ambassador to Moscow, Faik Zihni Akdur, presented his letters of credence to the Russian Government.

Dec. 16: The Turkish Martial Law Administration announced the arrest of more than 70 members of the "Turkish Socialist Workers and Peasants Party" and the "Turkish Socialist Party" on grounds that they were engaged in communist activities. The two organizations were banned and 6 newspapers were suppressed.

Dec. 23: Martial law was imposed for an additional 6 months in the Vilayets of Istanbul, Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdag, Çanakkale, and Gelibolu.

Dec. 27: The Democratic Party ended a 10-day boycott of the Grand National Assembly and returned to its sessions for discussion of the budget.

Dec. 30: The special military administrative regime existing in the Vilayet of Tunceli since 1936 was abolished by the Grand National Assembly. A civil administration was to be reinstated Jan. 1, 1947. The Minister of Interior announced that deported Kurdish families could now return to their homes.

1947

Jan. 7: King Abdallah of Transjordan arrived in Turkey.

Jan. 7-11: The first national congress of the Democratic Party, for the purpose of deciding future policy, was held in Ankara.

Jan. 10: In a press conference in Ankara, King Abdallah of Transjordan called for a Turko-Arab bloc including Iran, Afghanistan, North Africa, and Pakistan if it should become a reality.

Jan. 11: A 10-year Turko-Transjordan Treaty of Friendship was signed at Ankara. (For text see page 212.)

Jan. 16-27: The Peoples Party held a congress in Ankara to decide on future policy.

Jan. 19: Mehmet Esat Atuner, Minister to Spain, returned to Ankara.

Feb. 15: A bill ratifying the 10-year Treaty of Friendship between Turkey and Transjordan was approved by the Grand National Assembly.

Feb. 16: The Grand National Assembly passed a law authorizing the Turkish Government to participate in the International Monetary Fund and Bank of Reconstruction.

DOCUMENTS

Protocol regarding the Sudan included in the Bevin-Sidqi Draft Agreement of October 1946. (As quoted by Foreign Minister Bevin in his speech to the House of Commons, January 27, 1947.)

The policy which the high contracting parties undertake to follow in the Sudan within the framework of the unity between the Sudan and Egypt under the common Crown of Egypt will have for its essential objectives to assure the well-being of the Sudanese, the development of their interests, and their active preparation for self-government and consequently the exercise of the right to choose the future status of the Sudan. Until the high contracting parties can in full common agreement realize this latter objective after consultation with the Sudanese, the agreement of 1899 will continue and Article 11 of the treaty of 1936, together with its annex and paragraphs 14 to 16 of the agreed minute annexed to the same treaty, will remain in force notwithstanding the first article of the present treaty.

Cultural Treaty of the Arab League, November 20, 1946. (As published in the Arab News Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 2, February 1, 1947.)

Article 1. The States of the Arab League agree that each of them shall form a local organization whose functions shall be to consider matters concerning cultural co-operation between the Arab States. Each state will be free as to how it forms this organization.

Article 2. The States of the Arab League agree to exchange teachers and professors between their educational Institutions, ac-

cording to the general and individual conditions as will be agreed to. The period of service of any teacher or professor who is a Government official and who will be delegated for this purpose, will be considered as service for his own Government, with the maintenance of his rights as regards his post, promotion and pension.

Article 3. The States of the Arab League agree to exchange of students and scholars between their educational Institutions, and their acceptance in the suitable classes as far as accommodation will allow, in accordance with the regulations of those Institutions.

In order to facilitate this, those States while maintaining the basic educational principles adopted in their countries, will work towards harmonizing their educational syllabi and certificates. This will be done by special agreement between those states.

Such facilities as may be possible will be given by each State to any other State which wishes to construct hostels for its students.

Article 4. The States of the Arab League will encourage cultural, scouting and sports visits between the Arab countries, and in areas which the Governments allow for the holding of cultural and educational meetings for students. Facilities will be given for this purpose, particularly in respect of travelling arrangements and the expenses of the journey.

Article 5. The States of the Arab League agree on the reciprocal establishment of educational and scientific Institutions in their various countries.

Article 6. The States of Arab League will co-operate in the revival of the intellectual and artistic legacy of the Arabs, safeguarding and propagating it as well as making it available to those who seek it by all possible means.

Article 7. In order to keep pace with the

world's intellectual movements, the States of the Arab League will encourage and organize the translation of all foreign masterpieces whether classical or modern. They will also encourage all intellectual output in the Arab countries by such means as the opening of Institutes for scientific and literary research. They will grant prizes to distinguished men of science, literature and art.

Article 8. All the States of the Arab League undertake to legislate for the protection of scientific, literary and artistic authorship rights for all publications in all States of the Arab League.

Article 9. The States of the Arab League will work for the standardization of scientific terms, by means of councils, congresses and joint committees, which they will set up and by means of bulletins which these organizations will issue. They will work to make the Arabic language convey all expressions of thought and modern science, and to make of it the language of instruction in all subjects and in all educational stages in the Arab countries.

Article 10. The States of the Arab League will work for the consolidation of contacts between libraries and museums whether scientific, historical or artistic, by such means as the exchange of publications, indexes and duplicating antiquities, as well as by the exchange of technical officials and missions for excavations by agreements between them.

Article 11. The States of the Arab League agree to consolidate relations and to facilitate co-operation between scientists, literary men, journalists, members of the professions, those connected with art, the stage, the cinema and broadcasting where available by organizing visits for them between one country and another and by encouraging cultural, scientific and educational conferences for the purpose; also by placing room, laboratories and material scientific Institutions in every Arab country at the disposal of the learned of other countries to demonstrate scientific discoveries; also by the publication of periodical bulletins regarding books of scientific research published in all Arab countries. Each author or publisher must send to the "Cultural Committee" copies of his work

for its library as well as for the principal libraries of each State.

Article 12. The States of the Arab League agree to include in their educational syllabi, the history, geography and literature of the Arab countries, sufficiently to give a clear idea of the life of those countries and their civilization. They also agree upon the institution of an Arab library for pupils.

Article 13. The States of the Arab League will work for acquainting their sons with the social, cultural, economic and political conditions in all Arab countries, by means of broadcasts, the stage, cinema and press or by any other means, also by the institution of museums for Arab culture and civilization, as well as by holding occasional exhibitions for arts and literature, and of public and scholastic festivals in the various Arab countries.

Article 14. The States of the Arab League shall encourage the establishment of Arab social and cultural clubs in their respective countries.

Article 15. The States of the Arab League will take all necessary measures to approximate their legislative trends and to unify as far as possible their laws; also to include the study of legislation of other Arab countries in the syllabi.

Article 16. This Treaty shall be ratified by the signatory States, according to their constitutional regime, with the minimum of delay. The instruments of ratification shall be lodged in the Secretariat-General of the Arab League which will prepare a note of the receipt of each document and notify the other contracting States.

Article 17. Arab countries are permitted to adhere to this Treaty by notifying the Secretary-General of the League who will communicate the fact to the other contracting States.

Article 18. This Treaty will come into force one month after the date of the receipt of the instruments of ratification from two States. It shall also come into force for the other States who participate one month after the date of the deposit of the document of joining from these States.

Article 19. Any signatory State of this Treaty is allowed to withdraw from it by

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giving notice to the General-Secretariat of the League. The notice will take effect six months from the date of its despatch.

Statement of the British Government on India given at the close of talks between British Ministers and Indian leaders in London, December 6, 1946.

The conversations held by his Majesty's Government with Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, and Sardar Baldev Singh came to an end this evening, as Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh are returning to India tomorrow morning.

The object of the conversations has been to obtain the participation and co-operation of all parties in the Constituent Assembly. It was not expected that any final settlement could be arrived at since the Indian representatives must consult their colleagues before any final decision is reached.

The main difficulty that has arisen has been over the interpretation of paragraphs 19 (v) and 19 (viii) of the Cabinet mission's statement of May 16 relating to the meetings in sections, which run as follows:—

Paragraph 19 (v): "These sections shall proceed to settle provincial constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and if so with what provincial subjects the group should deal. Provinces should have power to opt out of groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below."

Paragraph 19 (viii): "As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the legislature of the Province after the first General Election under the new constitution."

The Cabinet mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the sections should, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by simple majority vote of the representatives in the sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League but the Congress have put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the statement, read as a whole, is that the provinces have a right to decide both as to grouping and as to their own constitutions.

His Majesty's Government have had legal

Statement on India by DEAN ACHESON, Acting U. S. Secretary of State, December 3, 1946.

The United States awaits with deep concern the outcome of the current talks in London between the Indian political leaders and the British Government. I feel most strongly that it will be in the interest of India, as well as that of all the whole world, for its leaders to grasp this opportunity to establish a stable and peaceful India.

The crux of the internal problem now confronting India appears to arise from differences of opinion between the two principal parties as to the conditions under which provinces can elect to join or remain out of sub-federations in northwest and northeast India. I am confident that if the Indian leaders show the magnanimous spirit the occasion demands, they can go forward together on the basis of the clear provisions on this point contained in the constitutional plan proposed by the British Cabinet Mission last spring to forge an Indian federal union in which all elements of the population have ample scope to achieve their legitimate political and economic aspirations.

The United States has long taken a sympathetic interest in the progressive realization of India's political destiny. It has welcomed the forward-looking spirit behind the comprehensive programs of industrial and agricultural advancement recently formulated in that country. Lastly, by our recent establishment of full diplomatic relations with the interim government of India, we have expressed in tangible form our confidence in the ability of the Indian leaders to make the vital decisions that lie immediately ahead with full awareness that their actions at this moment in history may directly affect world peace and prosperity for generations to come.

advice which confirms that the statement of May 16 means what the Cabinet mission have always stated was their intention. This part of the statement as so interpreted must therefore be considered an essential part of the scheme of May 16 for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which his Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament. It should, therefore, be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly.

It is, however, clear that other questions of interpretation of the statement of May 16 may arise, and his Majesty's Government hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly they will also agree, as have the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and will accept such decision so that the procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the sections may accord with the Cabinet mission's plan.

On the matter immediately in dispute his Majesty's Government urge the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet mission in order that the way may be open for the Muslim League to reconsider their attitude. If, in spite of this reaffirmation of the intention of the Cabinet mission, the Constituent Assembly desires that this fundamental point should be referred for the decision of the Federal Court, such reference should be made at a very early date. It will then be reasonable that the meetings of the sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until the decision of the Federal Court is known.

There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of an agreed procedure. Should a Constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, his Majesty's Government could not of course contemplate — as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate — forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country.

Statement by PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE on the transfer of power in India, Feb. 20, 1947.

1. It has long been the policy of successive British Governments to work towards the realization of self-government in India. In pursuance of this policy, an increasing measure of responsibility has been devolved on Indians and today the civil administration and the Indian armed forces rely to a very large extent on Indian civilians and officers. In the constitutional field the Acts of 1919 and 1935 passed by the British Parliament each represented a substantial transfer of political power. In 1940 the Coalition Government recognized the principle that Indians should themselves frame a new Constitution for a fully autonomous India, and in the offer of 1942 they invited them to set up a Constituent Assembly for this purpose as soon as the war was over.

2. His Majesty's Government believe this policy to have been right and in accordance with sound democratic principles; since they came into office they have done their utmost to carry it forward to its fulfilment. The declaration of the Prime Minister of March 15, last, which met with general approval in Parliament and the country, made it clear that it was for the Indian people themselves to choose their future status and Constitution and that, in the opinion of his Majesty's Government, the time had come for responsibility for the Government of India to pass into Indian hands.

3. The Cabinet Mission which was sent to India last year spent over three months in consultation with Indian leaders in order to help them to agree upon a method for determining the future Constitution of India, so that the transfer of power might be smoothly and rapidly effected. It was only when it seemed clear that, without some initiative from the Cabinet Mission, agreement was unlikely to be reached that they put forward proposals themselves.

4. These proposals, made public in May last, envisaged that the future Constitution of India should be settled by a Constituent Assembly composed, in the manner suggested therein, of representatives of all communities and interests in British India and of the Indian States.

5. Since the return of the Mission an Interim Government has been set up at the Center, composed of the political leaders of the major communities exercising wide powers within the existing Constitution. In all the Provinces, Indian Governments responsible to legislatures are in office.

6. It is with great regret that his Majesty's Government find that there are still differences among Indian parties which are preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should. It is of the essence of the plan that the Assembly should be fully representative.

7. His Majesty's Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a Constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's plan, but unfortunately there is at present no clear prospect that such a Constitution and such authorities will emerge. The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948.

8. This great sub-continent now containing over 400,000,000 people has for the last century enjoyed peace and security as a part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Continued peace and security are more than ever necessary today if the full possibilities of economic development are to be realized and a higher standard of life attained by the Indian people.

9. His Majesty's Government are anxious to hand over their responsibilities to a Government which, resting on the sure foundation of the support of the people, is capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency. It is, therefore, essential that all parties should sink their differences in order that they may be ready to shoulder the great responsibilities which will come upon them next year.

10. After months of hard work by the Cabinet Mission, a great measure of agreement was obtained as to the method by which a constitution should be worked out.

This was embodied in their statements of May last. His Majesty's Government there agreed to recommend to Parliament a constitution worked out, in accordance with proposals made therein, by a fully representative Constituent Assembly. But if it should appear that such a constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned in paragraph 7, his Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.

11. Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June, 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance. It is important that the efficiency of the civil administration should be maintained and that the defense of India should be fully provided for. But inevitably, as the process of transfer proceeds, it will become progressively more difficult to carry out to the letter all the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. Legislation will be introduced in due course to give effect to the final transfer of power.

12. In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, his Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any Government of British India. It is not intended to bring paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that for the intervening period the relations of the Crown with individual States may be adjusted by agreement.

13. His Majesty's Government will negotiate agreements in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power with the representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power.

14. His Majesty's Government believe that British commercial and industrial interests in India can look forward to a fair field for their enterprise under the new

conditions. The commercial connection between India and the United Kingdom has been long and friendly, and will continue to be to their mutual advantage.

15. His Majesty's Government cannot conclude this statement without expressing, on behalf of the people of this country, their goodwill and good wishes towards the people of India as they go forward to this final stage in their achievement of self-government. It will be the wish of everyone in these islands that, notwithstanding constitutional changes, the association of the British and Indian peoples should not be brought to an end; and they will wish to continue to do all that is in their power to further the well-being of India.

A Statement of views on India issued by the U. S. Department of State, February 25, 1947.

Relations between the United States and India have assumed a new significance with the arrival in this country on February 20 of India's Ambassador-designate, Mr. Asaf Ali, and the declaration by the British Prime Minister on the same day that the British Government would transfer power "into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948."

In recent official statements this Government has made clear its interest in India's peaceful transition to full self-government. At the same time it has welcomed the persistent and sincere efforts of the British Government to bring the major Indian political parties together within the framework of a constitutional plan that would lead to the early establishment of a federal union for the 400,000,000 people of India. We continue to believe that this plan offers a just basis for co-operation.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the magnitude of the task faced by the Indian leaders or the heavy responsibilities that rest upon them as they endeavor to bring freedom, political stability, and economic progress to such a large segment of the human race.

This Government fully appreciates the

grave character of the British decision to set a definite and early date for the completion of the process of transferring power to responsible Indian hands. It profoundly hopes that Indian political leadership will accept this clear-cut challenge and proceed to break the impasse between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Indian internal crisis threatens to prevent India from making its rightful and honorable contribution to the maintenance of international peace and prosperity. An India torn by civil strife would not only find it difficult to make this positive and greatly needed contribution but could conceivably become the source of new international tensions in a world only now beginning to grope its way back to peace.

Treaty of Friendship between TURKEY and the KINGDOM OF TRANSJORDAN. (Signed at Ankara on January 11, 1947.)

(Unofficial translation)

HIS EXCELLENCY ISMET INÖNÜ, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY, on the one part, and

HIS MAJESTY ABDALLAH, KING OF THE HASHIMITE LAND OF TRANSJORDAN, on the other part,

Desiring to invigorate and strengthen the sincere ties of friendship and brotherhood existing between Turkey and the Hashimite Land of Transjordan and believing that thus the happiness and interests of the two peoples will be best served, and that this will be consonant with the aims of general international peace, have decided to conclude a Treaty of Friendship, and to that end have appointed as their representatives:

The President of the Republic of Turkey: Hasan Saka, Deputy for Trabzon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and

Feridun Cemal Erkin, Ambassador, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The King of Transjordan:

Muhammad Shurayki Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, holder of the Nahba decoration, first class.

These representatives, after having exhibited their full powers, found to be in due form, having decided upon the following provisions:

ARTICLE I

An inviolable peace and sincere friendship shall prevail between Turkey and the Hashimite Land of Transjordan and between the two peoples.

ARTICLE II

The Contracting Parties have come to agreement in the matter of establishing diplomatic relations between the two Governments in a manner in keeping with the principles of international law and have agreed that the diplomatic representative of each on the soil of the other Party shall enjoy the treatment recognized in the general rules of international law, based on reciprocity.

ARTICLE III

The Contracting Parties have decided to negotiate a separate Agreement regarding the matters of interest to the two Parties in justice, trade, consular affairs, establishment and travel, in accordance with the rules of international law and on the basis of reciprocity.

ARTICLE IV

The Contracting Parties will seek to settle disagreements which may arise between them by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of Article 33 of the United Nations Charter.

ARTICLE V

The Two High Parties are united on the point that there is no intent whatsoever in this Treaty to violate present or future rights and obligations which they bear in connection with the United Nations Charter.

ARTICLE VI

This treaty will remain in force for ten years from the date on which it becomes effective. Unless one year before the ten year period ends one of the Parties notifies the other Party of its desire to terminate the Treaty, the Agreement automatically remains in effect. In this case the Treaty ceases to be in effect one year after one of the Parties has stated its desire to terminate it.

ARTICLE VII

The present Treaty, written in Turkish and Arabic, will be ratified promptly and the documents of ratification will be exchanged. The Treaty will become effective following the exchange of documents of ratification.

ARTICLE VIII

This Treaty, done at Ankara on the eleventh day of January, 1947, and the eighteenth of Sefer, 1366 of the Hegira, is written in the Turkish and Arabic languages and both texts shall be considered of equal validity.

HASAN SAKA MUHAMMAD SHURAYKI
FERIDUN CEMAL ERKIN

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

GENERAL

Seen from E. A.: Three International Episodes, by Herbert Feis. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1947. viii + 318 pages. \$2.75.

In this book Dr. Feis, former Adviser on International Economic Affairs in the Department of State, relates three "significant episodes in the American search for national security before the war." The first deals with the American effort to acquire a stockpile of rubber, the second with the endeavors on the part of the U. S. Government to take part directly in the exploitation of American-owned oil resources in the Middle East, and the third with the failure of economic sanctions against Italy during the Italo-Ethiopian war. It is the second of these episodes which is of direct interest to those concerned with the problems of the Middle East. The author's official position in the Department of State during much of the period dealt with in his study makes his account all the more vivid and serves to fill in many details which were obscured or neglected in the newspaper reports.

The problem of official U. S. participation in the exploitation of Middle Eastern oil became a topic of serious discussion in American government circles after withdrawals of American oil during World War II had reached such proportions as to raise the specter of a rapid exhaustion of domestic resources. It was natural that at such a time the American-owned oil fields of Saudi Arabia and Bahrein, which were nearly untapped, would acquire great potential significance. However, these resources were in an area far removed from the American continent and traditionally subjected to strong political crosscurrents which involved both the local rulers and the great powers of Europe and Asia.

For a long time most of the foreign enterprise in the area has had strong political support from the home governments; in some cases European governments have even participated directly in commercial undertakings. Under these circumstances stronger U. S. Government backing of American companies appeared to be in the interest of both the corporations and the government. The form which such support should take was not clear, however, and gave rise to prolonged discussions in Washington. According to the author the oil companies proposed to give the government an option to buy large quantities of Saudi Arabian oil at a discount from the market price whenever it desired to do so. Such an option agreement seemed to be inadequate to the representatives of some government agencies who advocated the outright participation of the U. S. Government in the companies developing the oil fields of Saudi Arabia and Bahrein. It is extremely interesting and instructive to follow the author's discussion of this proposition, the acceptance of which would have meant a radical departure from traditional American policy. The plan fell through mainly because of the refusal of the companies to sell shares to the government. Dr. Feis then deals with the endeavors to conclude an agreement for oil development with the British Government, and the proposal to build a government-controlled pipe line from the Saudi Arabian oil fields to the Mediterranean.

The author's account of these important phases of the history of American oil enterprise in the Middle East is written in very lively style, and his analysis is that of a trained and penetrating observer. To be sure, his narrative is sometimes subjective, but this seems unavoidable in view of the proximity of the author to the events he describes. Nevertheless, the chapter on the oil of the Middle East can be regarded as a

valuable contribution to the history of a period when the U. S. Government for the first time considered direct participation in the economic development of the region.

HERBERT J. LIEBESNY

Foundation for Foreign Affairs

Rural Education and Welfare in the Middle East, by H. B. Allen. London: H. M. Stationery Press, 1946. 24 pages. New York: British Information Services. \$.45.

The Agricultural Development of the Middle East, by B. A. Keen. London: H. M. Stationery Press, 1946. 123 pages, 32 plates, 2 maps. New York: British Information Services. \$1.50.

Each of these publications consists of a report to the Director-General of the Middle East Supply Center, an Anglo-American agency that was concerned with the development and control of agricultural production and food supplies in the Middle East during World War II.

Mr. Allen's study presents a brief analysis of rural education in eleven countries of the Middle East as a contribution toward solving the rural problems of the area. The author gives the basic facts of the situation and makes specific suggestions with respect to elementary and secondary education, and extension work in the villages. The report, consisting of twenty-two pages, is too brief to give a reader who is not familiar with the area an adequate picture of the important and complex problem involved. However, within this limited space Mr. Allen has succeeded in presenting observations and conclusions that are clear, precise, and logical, as well as suggestions for a solution that are basically sound.

Mr. Keen's report starts with a brief background statement of agriculture as it exists in the various countries of the region under consideration. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the main agricultural problems—technical and socio-economic—which are encountered, and of methods and recommendations for meeting them. The thirty-two illustrations and two maps at the end of the book are instructive and add greatly to the value of the book.

Mr. Keen is a well-known authority on agriculture in general and on agricultural research in particular. In this book he brings a wealth of experience and scientific knowledge to bear upon the agricultural situation of the Middle East and upon the problem of its improvement. His appraisal of the modern systems that have been adopted in various parts of the region is objective and instructive, and indicates where these systems have failed or succeeded. Moreover, his understanding of the socio-economic factors of agricultural life in the Middle East is as sound as his understanding of its technical aspects. His observations and recommendations are clear and specific; his conclusions drawn with due caution and reserve. On several points, such as the introduction of new seed, improvement of livestock, and utilization of farmyard manure, his remarks are especially enlightening and sometimes challenging.

AFIF I. TANNOUS

Department of Agriculture

The Great Religions of the Modern World.

Edited by Edward J. Jurji. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. 370 pages. \$3.75.

The preface to this volume states that the purpose of the book is "to indicate the genius, development and spiritual core of the major contemporary religions," a majority of which have played a significant role in the Middle East. The volume is also "a study of religion in its relation to world crisis." Though this was a goal of stupendous proportions, the nine authors who wrote the ten chapters have struggled mightily and produced a worthy result.

The intelligent reader can readily appreciate the scholarship, the research, the penetrating analysis, and the concentration which has gone into the book when he considers, for example, that Lewis Hodus has compressed the history, scope, and development of Confucianism from 551 B.C. to 1937 A.D. into twenty-two pages, including a discussion of its cosmology, ethics, cult, and relation to other systems. In the follow-

ing twenty pages, Dr. Hodus gives a treatise on Taoism—its origins, mysticism, literature, political and economic principles, popular forms, relation to other systems, and modern evolution.

The first five of the ten studies, including in addition to the chapters on Confucianism and Taoism an examination of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Shintoism, were contributed by missionary scholars who have attained recognition for their long and arduous work in India and the Far East. These chapters contain the greater amount of new information to the average American reader because the world in which they deal is so far removed from our Western concepts. Yet although pithy, the language is simple and the ideas are clearly and objectively presented.

The second set of five chapters treats with more familiar subjects. Dr. Jurji, although a Christian, quotes at length from Moslem authors and gives an almost convincing presentation of the inspiration and mission of Islam in its far-flung temporal and spatial manifestations. Jurji feels that the small, dynamic, liberal element in Islam is capable of great leadership in developing social and legislative reforms of a progressive nature, and that Islam may overcome the restrictions of a dead past and lead toward a vital future. But one who has lived in Islamic lands notices a complete lack of any description of what might be called "folk Islam"—the religion of the masses. Intellectual Islam is, after all, but the expression of the few at the apex of the Islamic pyramid.

Dr. Neuman presents a fresh outlook on what is probably the most studied of all religions—Judaism. His treatment is brief but thorough, and well deserves reading by those who think that Judaism is outmoded. Only in the final paragraph is there a suggestion of Zionism, where Neuman states: "The restoration of the Jews to their ancestral home in our day and the rebuilding in Palestine of a national home for the genius of the Jewish people may usher in a new epoch of prophetic creation comparable to that of the Second Commonwealth that saved Judaism and ended by giving birth to Christianity."

Of the three principal interpretations of Christianity, Eastern Orthodoxy is least

known in the West. Dr. Hromadka stresses the contributions made in the past, then shows what an unprecedented transformation is now being experienced in the interplay of the Eastern Church with Marxism and the Soviet Union. He states that "We do not know very much about her present spiritual vigor, intellectual and moral stamina," but at the same time he expresses the belief that Eastern Orthodoxy will make further great contributions to Western thought.

Dr. Walsh outlines the development of the Roman Catholic system of thought from its New Testament beginnings through to modern scholasticism. By far the most important place in Catholic history is attributed to Thomas Aquinas, whose contributions occupy almost three pages out of the whole study. Dr. Walsh believes Apostolic Christianity has grown and continues to grow in holiness and truth.

Dr. Mackay contributes the last chapter in the book. Protestantism, he states, was an appeal to Jesus Christ against traditions accumulated throughout Christian history. He shows how this appeal has led to such movements as Lutheranism, Anglicanism, and radical Protestant groups. He emphasizes the supreme authority of the Bible as a book revealing God's redemption. As a document with a history, it should be investigated with the utmost rigorous historical and scientific criteria. Such scrutiny strengthens the Protestant doctrinal interpretation, which he then outlines. He closes with a strong "credo" that the reawakened evangelical ecumenical Church will give birth to a system of belief that will guide men in this revolutionary time.

Within the 370 pages of the text of this book there is crammed a distillation of history, facts, ideas, traditions, and beliefs rivaled by few other books of comparable size. The impact of world events upon the patterns of man's belief is well portrayed, and the impression is left on the mind of the reader that religion is awake, struggling, and trying to adjust itself to the immense and crushing stresses apparent in our time.

EDWIN M. WRIGHT
Department of State

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A History of Armenian Christianity from the Beginning to Our Own Time, by Leon Arpee. (A Centennial Volume marking the one hundredth anniversary of Armenian Protestantism, 1846-1946.) New York: The Armenian Missionary Association of America, 1946. xix + 386 pages. \$3.00.

The title and the other material on the title page fairly characterize the book. The author gives a sketch of Armenian Christianity from the earliest times to the present, prefacing it with a brief outline of the pre-Christian period. A more or less chronological scheme is followed in the exposition, into which are woven such points in the political history as the author sees fit to interpolate. The writer is fairly widely read in the native Armenian sources, and gives a bibliography of general books which contains no German or Russian works and manifests some important gaps in modern Armenian critical literature (e.g. Akinean's works on the Constantinopolitan translators).

The traditional scheme of semi-legendary history and distorted and faulty chronology is undeviatingly followed. Gregory the Illuminator, Mesrop, Mashtoc', and other worthies are portrayed in their semi-mythological guise. The Armenian alphabet is derived from the Greek, not an Aramaic original. The Syriac connections are slightly dismissed along with our sources. The Biblical translation is given perhaps more than its just due. In some instances the difference is due to another reading, and in others the Septuagint reading differs from the Hebrew Masoretic text, on which the English O.T. is based. The discussion of the heretical movements is somewhat haphazard and poorly organized. Considerable space is devoted to the Paulicians, though the primitive character of their belief is not adequately stressed. Still more space is devoted to the relations with the Latins. The Latin authors, and also Gregory of Narek, Nerses Shnorhali and the polemist Gregory of Tat'ev are discussed in some detail. One of the latter's tractates is translated in the appendix; and the fates of the divers sections of the Armenian diaspora are followed up, including a fairly detailed account of the modern evangelical movement.

In the historical portions which deal with lay history there are some errors and many more inconsistencies. The inconsistent transcription irritates the reader. Either the Western or Eastern orthography should have been followed consistently in representing Armenian names. If Devin appears as Tevin, then Gagik should be Kakig. Peroz in the guise of Berosus might cause confusion. Many other things might well have been touched upon, such as the philosophical and grammatical schools of T'aik', the Chalcedonite party in Armenia, and the grecophile work, but of them we learn nothing. In the history of the diaspora, one misses a mention of the role of the Crimean colony. Taking it as a whole one can hardly say that Arpee's book gives us a clear and dispassionate picture of the turbulent and tortuous development of the Armenian church.

ROBERT P. BLAKE
Harvard University

Baalbek-Palmyra. Photographs by Hoyningen-Huene with text by David M. Robinson. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1946. 136 pages, 54 plates. \$7.50.

This is essentially a picture book, but to the reviewer, at least, the illustrations are a disappointment. Possibly neither site, in spite of its natural beauty, is easy to photograph, but while some of the views are pretty, the brown and muddy style of printing gives the impression of cheapness rather than of artistry. One would have preferred a clear collotype, which, presumably, would have brought out also the photographer's special interest, the play of light and shadow.

In the text of the volume, the two plans are useful. Otherwise, the twenty pages devoted to Baalbek and the twenty-nine to Palmyra are far from satisfactory. Indeed, it is not easy to see for precisely what audience they were written. They are not popular, being filled not only with miscellaneous and sometimes obscure learning, but even with random footnotes incorporated in the text. On the other hand, they are not systematically designed as a guide to the ruins, and anyone familiar with the sites is appalled at the volume of misinformation and positive error which crowds each page.

It would be valueless to rehearse the mistakes in detail. Nevertheless, enough may be pointed out to fortify the reader with a healthy caution. Palmyra is not "a cluster of hovels with about three hundred Arabs" but a flourishing and relatively modern town with perhaps five thousand inhabitants. Baalbek is hardly on any conceivable Damascus-Tyre road. The French are no longer excavating at Palmyra, as few if any of that nation's subjects are allowed in Syria. No Palmyrene could have taken the name "Caracalla Aurelius," as Caracalla was never a Roman name, being merely a nickname applied to the emperor. The entrance to the Temple of Bel is on the west, not on the east. Jewish clans were not in the majority at Palmyra, nor were there four of them. The names cited on page 87 are Aramaic and not Hebrew. The gold and silversmiths of Palmyra did not persuade the Roman emperor to raise Zenobia's husband to consular rank, but merely put up an inscription in his honor, as did many others. "The Jamlishu" whose tomb is mentioned on page 84 is actually the same as the "Iamblichus" of the preceding line. The Palmyrene name is transliterated Iamliku, and there is no reason for imagining him to have been a mule driver. He was one of the "notables." The "Ubu" Ubeida of page 10 is properly "Abu," and the "Djebel and Abyad" of page 61 is, of course, Jebel Abyad. This "White Mountain" is north of Palmyra and not west.

Those who know Baalbek and Palmyra, the most spectacular sites of the Levant States, may buy the volume for its nostalgic quality and examine it with the same feeling that prompts them to pore over their own worse photographs. On the other hand, the book is not of great value to prospective visitors to the sites or even to the general public.

C. BRADFORD WELLES
Yale University

SAUDI ARABIA

Saudi Arabia: With an Account of the Development of its Natural Resources, by K. S. Twitchell. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. 192 pages, map, photographs. \$2.50.

The search for water and food has occupied a large portion of the time and energy of Arabians from the beginning of time, and is still the chief concern of every living creature in Saudi Arabia, including the great shepherd king himself. Life in the desert kingdom is an unrelenting struggle for subsistence, to avert drought and famine. It is in casting up the accounts of the meager resources of soil and water that Mr. Twitchell has rendered notable services to Arabia, as he now does to the reader. The author knows whereof he writes, for he and the late Charles R. Crane, to whom the book is dedicated, were the first two Americans to win the personal friendship and confidence of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud. He was, as well, the American pioneer in surveying the water and agricultural resources of the land.¹ He tells at first hand of the rediscovery of gold, and of the development of oil, which is destined to revolutionize the economy of the Arabian land and people.

But the commingling of Moslem East and technological West is not Mr. Twitchell's exclusive theme. Indeed, he is at his best in describing the physical nature of the land so little known, until recently, to most Americans, the land which was the cradle of the Arab race, the Arabic language, and the Arab religion — that trio of dynamic forces which combined to produce Arab culture, and to create what Freya Stark has rightly called the greatest empire between Rome and Britain. It is a land, it should also be noted, in whose development the U. S. has as great an economic and strategic stake as in any of the Near or Middle East.

When he leaves geology and agriculture to treat of the royal family, Arab society, and the impact of the West, Mr. Twitchell is on ground which others before him have traversed. And yet the story would not be complete without this human interest. The King and his princely sons have impressed all who have met them, while the native courtesy and dignity of the desert Arab have won the affection and respect of those who

¹ *Report of the U. S. Agricultural Mission to Saudi Arabia*, by K. S. Twitchell, A. L. Wathen, and J. G. Hamilton. Cairo: The Misr Press, 1943.

have lived with them at home. The saga of the rise of the Saud family and the history of concessions for gold and oil granted to American operating companies may not be told either for the first time or definitively in this short narrative, but the first-hand glimpses of the Arab at home under the open skies are fresh and delightful: the Arab and his business partner, the camel, without whose passenger and freight services man could never have survived in Arabia; the Arab and his friend, the horse, an esteemed member of the family, never put to plow nor to water wheel but treated as a noble friend, as sportsmen treat their hunting dogs. The fact that some Arabians are now farmers settled on the land, or prosperous and skilled employees of the Arabian American Oil Company, has not changed the basis of family life wherein the camel is the unit of wealth and influence, the sheep and the goat are the source of food and raiment, and the "cup of cold water" offered to the thirsty wayfarer is the secret of survival as well as the mark of friendliness.

In his optimism over the future of Arabian irrigation, agriculture, and industrial capacity, Mr. Twitchell glosses over the eternal bleakness of this pastoral and nomadic land, where the sparse population with even its traditionally simple diet of dates, goat's milk, millet (and, rarely, mutton) must import annually 65,000 tons of cereals alone to survive. The kingdom is therefore dependent, to a degree not indicated by Mr. Twitchell, upon friendly foreign relations and steady imports. The truth is that the life of the four and one-half million Saudi Arabians is Spartan to a point difficult for a westerner to realize. But every thorn has its rose. This Spartan quality has entered the Arabian soul: as it has survived rigors of nature and indigence, so it will survive social and economic innovations that would confuse a more nervous society. Completely adapted to the environment, the people of Saudi Arabia comprise one of the most stable communities in the modern world.

WILLIAM A. EDDY
Department of State

PALESTINE

Great Britain and Palestine, 1915-1945. Royal Institute of International Affairs, Information Paper No. 20 (third edition). London: Royal Institute of International Affairs [New York Publications Office, 542 Fifth Ave., New York 19, N. Y.], 1946. xii + 177 pages, maps. \$2.00.

This brief, readable, though not wholly reliable popular account, which first appeared in 1937 and was brought up to date on the eve of World War II, has now been revised again. The present edition, which carries the narrative down to the announcement of the formation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in November 1945, is somewhat more comprehensive in scope than the earlier versions.

The treatment is topical and chronological, summarizing British commitments to Arabs and Jews in World War I, contrasting the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine, and then tracing the history of the mandate in the twenties. At this point, the running story is interrupted to examine the basic immigration and land problems that have plagued the mandatory power, and the changing economic conditions from the close of the first World War to the close of the second. The chronological narrative is then resumed and the reader is introduced to the vacillations of British policy, the Arab revolt, the abortive partition proposal and London conferences, the 1939 White Paper, and the chief events in the war years and early post-war months. Particularly useful are the statistical tables of population growth, migration, deportation, and the economic development of the country. The chapters dealing with immigration, land, and economic conditions, and the section relating to the political structure of the Jewish community may be singled out as the most important improvements over the earlier editions.

The volume as a whole, however, is spotty. Its irregularity derives from the fact that the nameless author or authors have followed too closely the second edition, thus needlessly retaining many of its errors. No attempt has been made to revise the section

concerning the political structure of the Arab community. For example, no attention is given to the political downfall of the Nashashibis, the Husaynis' return to the foreground of Palestine Arab politics, the rapid expansion of organized Arab labor in the war years, and the beginnings of an Arab labor press. Significant omissions, such as of the Labor Unity Party, which is as numerically important as ha-Shomer ha-Za'ir, and antiquated data (the size of the Elected Assembly was raised from 71 to 171 deputies in 1944, but the first figure is used), detract from the value of an otherwise good description of Jewish political organization.

While allusions are made to British-Axis relations as they bore upon the Palestine problem from 1935 through the early war years, the impact of Russo-British relations on the course of events in Palestine from 1943 on is entirely absent. Finally, the bibliography leans too heavily on British, especially official, publications and is, therefore, not well-balanced. But despite these inadequacies, the book remains one of the best succinct accounts of the subject and represents the intelligent Englishman's viewpoint toward a very complex, highly emotional problem.

J. C. HUREWITZ
New York City

The Palestine Problem and Its Solution: A New Scheme, by Dr. Siegmund Kaznelson. Jerusalem: The Jewish Publishing House, 1946. 117 pages. \$2.00.

In the foreword to his book Dr. Kaznelson states that he addresses himself to Jews and Arabs alike, as "an independent author, aloof from all party politics." This may be a correct statement of the author's stand within the Jewish community in Palestine, but his book is essentially "Jewish." A large proportion of the analysis is devoted to the "fundamental human rights of the Jewish people," to self-determination and security, strengthened by what the author calls the "emergency right" of the remnants of Eastern European Jewry to defend themselves against actual or potential extermination. Kaznelson accepts and defends along familiar

lines the thesis that the ultimate objective of the Balfour Declaration and of the Palestine Mandate was the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, even if not of Palestine as a Jewish State. He is aware that the Jewish "historic right to Palestine" clashes with the "Arab right of self-determination," but seems to believe that they are not irreconcilable.

The "real issue" of Palestine in the author's opinion is to find a solution which would guarantee a free Jewish immigration and at the same time avoid the creation of a minority status for the Arabs. The solution he advocates is "national separation of the peoples combined with partition of the country," with the possibility of union at a later stage left open. Details of the author's scheme envisage the creation of three states: a Jewish State in Palestine (Eretz Israel), an Arab State in Palestine and Transjordan, and a (Christian) Kingdom of Jerusalem under the British Crown. All permanent residents of the country would have to register in one of these, and would thus become citizens of one of the three states. They would not have to change their domicile, because the constitutions of each of the states would guarantee for all the status of "most favored foreigner" entitling each person to choose or change his domicile and to work in any one of the three states.

The scheme has the advantage of not radically upsetting present relations and of making the transfer of populations unnecessary. The Jews living in the Arab State and the Arabs in the Jewish State would not be a "national minority," but citizens of their respective national Home States with special rights not usually accorded foreigners in a state of residence. This exceptional status would not be given to immigrants admitted to any of the three states after the date of national registration, nor would they have the right of free domicile and work outside the admitting state without the express permission of the state concerned. Thus, in the author's opinion, the danger of "majorization" would be avoided.

Dr. Kaznelson is at his best in analyzing the gradual departure of the British Government from the principles of the mandate, and

in dealing with the failure of the administration to make an effort toward educating the people of Palestine to think and feel in terms of Palestinian patriotism and citizenship. His analysis of the problem of national minorities and national rights, based mainly on a first-hand knowledge of the problems of the old Austro-Hungarian multi-national monarchy, is also valuable.

Though his legal arguments are technically correct, the author is inclined to overestimate the importance of legal devices, in spite of the admission that "the decisive considerations are political and not legal." As is often the case whenever "historical rights" are invoked, the argument tends to shift from a legal to a moral basis. Dr. Kaznelson also misses the point in his evaluation of the "real issue" of Palestine inasmuch as he disregards almost completely the fact that Palestine occupies an exceptional strategic position quite apart from the aspirations of the Arabs and the Jews. While the author is correct in ascribing some failures of the British administration to a typical Western inability to understand the "Eastern" concept of nationality (which has nothing to do with citizenship), British behavior is dictated not so much by lack of understanding of the problems as by what successive British governments believe to be the right attitude from the point of view of British interests.

If the issue of Palestine were only a matter of understanding the problems, the situation would be much simpler than it is. Provided there were genuine good will on all sides and an honest attempt to find a compromise solution, Kaznelson's able analysis of the problem of nationalities would be a valuable guide for those seeking to settle the issue. But then, with good will on all sides it might appear that there would be no need for solutions as involved as the scheme he advocates.

SAMUEL L. SHARP

Foundation for Foreign Affairs

TURKEY

The People of Turkey, by Eleanor Bisbee.
New York: East and West Assoc., 1946.
48 pages. \$.65.

The People of Turkey deals with the origins, customs, achievements, and problems of the present-day Turkish people. The author was a former professor of philosophy at the American Women's College in Istanbul, and is well acquainted with the Turkish people, having many close friends among them.

This small book is the only one of its kind, and therefore is a useful introduction for people who are going out to the area whether as teachers in the American educational institutions, or as employees of American firms or the government. The author touches briefly on many subjects, including educational, religious and minority issues, political parties, the status of women, social customs, and other social, economic, and political problems. Included is a five page bibliography on Turkey.

The author has also included a summary of the historical background of the Turks, but has presented without sufficient qualification the Turkish thesis that there were Turks in Anatolia long before the arrival of the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks. This is a controversial point, and one not accepted by most Western historians.

Among the subjects that could have been treated more fully is the role of the *Halkevis* (People's Houses), or educational and recreational community centers. These have played a significant part in the field of adult education, and have been of great assistance in forwarding the over-all educational program of the Ministry of Public Instruction.

Another subject given inadequate attention is the formation of political parties in Turkey. However, since the inauguration of the multi-party system in Turkey dates only from late 1945, there is little information readily available.

On the whole, *The People of Turkey* is a useful little book for the purpose for which it was intended, but it is hoped that the author will supplement this short introduction with a more complete work to help fill the serious gap in books dealing with Turkey, which generally treat only historical and political aspects, to the neglect of the human element — the story of the people.

KERIM K. KEY
Department of State

INDIA

Hindu Psychology: Its Meaning for the West, by Swami Akhilananda. New York: Harper & Bros., 1946. xviii + 241 pages. \$2.50.

The author has produced a well organized and analyzed exposition of Indian psychology, written against a background of Western psychological theory. His contention is that Indian psychology possesses a uniqueness and completeness which makes it superior to that of the West. He also holds that Indian interest in psychology and analysis of experience are very much older than Western psychological science.

In his study of the sub-conscious mind, he deals largely with its pathological aspects; and he rejects Western hypotheses in favor of the Indian claim that *bliss* is the ultimate urge. (Should not this concept be examined further?) The ground of the sub-conscious is *antahkarana*, which, it should be remembered, is the subtle substratum of the transitory individual. In fact, it belongs to that impermanent world which dissolves when the illusion of individuality disappears. It is the creature of *māyā*; and to speak of it as in any sense final or permanent is to be inexact. It bears the impressions of all the experiences of the individual, in every incarnation, except those which have already emerged in experience, and will continue until all the seeds of all deeds have borne fruit, or until the process is brought to an end by some kind of release (*mukti*). He calls this (*antahkarana*) Mind, with a capital letter (p. 29). (This theory furnishes ground for a theory of some sort of sub-conscious determination of conscious life.)

This capital letter suggests that the author does not sufficiently distinguish between two uses of the word "mind." This dualism appears also in the use of other terms, "knowledge," "Brahman," "Self," and others, and creates a basic confusion. No one can be fair to Indian psychology (or Indian philosophy in general) who does not make plain everywhere which of two things he means in his discussion of what India has to say. The Indian has everything to gain by being most exact in his use of terms.

The super-conscious state is *samādhi*. Ac-

cording to the Yoga this is the third of the final disciplines aimed at complete control or fixing of the mental process. These three are varying degrees of this accomplishment. The second is *dhyāna*, "meditation." The use of this word is misleading, for the aim of this three-fold discipline (*dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, *sa-mādhi*) is to bring the mind (*manas*) to complete inaction. This is as close to the state of the Absolute as one can get; not in movement toward "union," but in elimination of the objective world from consciousness. The individual mind cannot know the Absolute through the "psychic apparatus," *antahkarana* and the rest. In fact, the Absolute has no field of knowledge, being pure subjectivity. The Absolute was, or is (who knows which?), *sat-chit-ānanda*, which is a purely negative concept set up by the individual to whom the Absolute is unknowable. What has *samādhi* to do with it?

This *samādhi*, then, needs further examination. And the West wants to know more about the experience in *samādhi*. There must be some subtle experience growing out of the yogic discipline faithfully and honestly followed. This experience is difficult to describe, since it arises in an approximately inert mind. All through Indian history there is record of men who have held *samādhi* to be of supreme importance and of the finest ecstatic quality. They affirm this experience for themselves. The method used in this study, that of making Western psychological theory a foil for the presentation of the Hindu, does not help us to understand or appraise this experience. We would like to have the Indian explain himself.

The super-conscious state can be for a limited few only, since the path which leads to it is a very difficult yogic discipline. As a matter of fact, the author does bring in the whole of the classical Yoga. Although this is very carefully done, and the strenuous side of Yoga is sugar-coated, still, he does wash off the sugar in a few places. His philosophy of life is a tirade against hedonism. But, is not the discipline for the experience of *samādhi* purely individualistic, so far as practice is concerned, and un-social?

While this is an interesting and useful piece of work, still, its meaning for the West

is obscured by lack of care in definition, and by lack of objectivity.

GEORGE W. BRIGGS
Drew University

India's Hindu-Muslim Questions, by Beni Prasad. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1946. 152 pages. 6s.

The Hindu-Moslem problem, of particular prominence at the present time, has been widely publicized but seldom illuminated. This book by the late Beni Prasad, Professor of Politics at the University of Allahabad, "seeks to offer a diagnosis . . . and to suggest a comprehensive remedy." The author, a man of learning, insight, and scientific attitude, has succeeded in ordering, proportioning, and compressing a vast material into remarkably few pages.

The study begins with an analysis of the historical and psychological background of the conflict, first examining Hindu society at the time of the Moslem invasions, then discussing the adjustment between the two communities in medieval times, and finally describing the detrimental effect of the British conquest on that adjustment. The task of sudden transition to the modern age was enormous and complicated. In the intellectual and moral spheres two tendencies — modernism and revivalism — were constants, and the author believes their interaction and the accompanying political reaction are the source of the present Hindu-Moslem conflict.

Against this background Professor Prasad traces Hindu-Moslem relations through the course of the movement for democratic self-government which began after the suppression of the Mutiny in 1857. It is the story of an ever widening gulf to which there was a variety of contributing factors: the persistence of negative government, which, in failing to attack illiteracy and poverty, failed to prepare the ground for political progress; Moslem aloofness from English education, putting that community at a disadvantage when the educated middle class was called on to share in the government; Moslem avoidance

of participation, and the resultant primarily Hindu character which it obtained, particularly after Gandhi infused it with Hindu spiritualism; growing Moslem fears and corresponding demands for special safeguards; the institution of separate electorates in 1909; the failure in 1918 of the government and political organizations to meet the need for political education, when "training pertained to methods of agitation rather than to those of responsibility"; Pan-Islamism; the mistake the Congress made in 1937 in pursuing orthodox parliamentarianism and in attempting to rally the Moslem masses on the basis of an economic program; the crystallization of Moslem fear apparent at this point in the League's demand for a veto on constitutional advance and in its effort to immobilize the national movement; and finally, the League's demand for Pakistan, first enunciated in 1940.

An over-all responsibility for the trend of events in the last two decades is assigned to the British policy of procrastination: "The government of India has been an open question since 1927 and is still an open question. Such a situation would in any country in the world suffice to accentuate all the old jealousies and differences and to create new ones. Wounds that admit of rapid healing become septic through delay. . . . Psychological complexes are writ large over Indian politics since 1930. Fear of the future casts a shadow of suspicion over every move on the part of others."

The author's suggestions for remedy do not include partition, whose practical impossibility he demonstrates. He speaks in terms of a three-fold solution: "a long-range solution pertaining to general progress, an immediate settlement pertaining to political issues, and an intermediate integration pertaining to cultural matters." In view of political realities in India today, the reader may feel that Professor Prasad's logical, understanding, and comprehensive suggestions are not applicable. Actually, the substance of many of them, and the spirit of all, would inevitably apply if a real solution were in time worked out.

JENNY POLEMAN
Washington, D. C.

Wartime Labour Conditions and Reconstruction Planning in India. Montreal: International Labour Office, 1946. (Studies and Reports, New Series No. 2.) 113 pages. \$.50.

Mr. Raghunath Rao, an Indian official of the International Labour Office (ILO), visited his homeland in 1945 to advise the Government of India with respect to a scheme for health insurance of industrial workers. While there he investigated the impact of the war on labor conditions and reconstruction planning. The results of his studies have now been published by ILO, Montreal.

The study is more a summary than an appraisal, and readers will look in vain for indications of what the author himself thinks of wartime developments and plans for the future. Because of the scrupulous omission of all but fleeting references to political events, one is left with the impression that these developments took place in a vacuum. Perhaps this self-imposed censorship is required in an ILO publication, but it makes of this study an exercise rather than an evaluation. For in India today, more than in most countries, it is impossible to consider seriously economic developments and plans without also taking into consideration the political framework.

To the general reader the introductory chapter on the impact of the war may prove of most interest. In it the author points out that ways of life in India inherited from old times are only slowly and almost imperceptibly being adapted to modern conditions. He states that by far the greatest revelation of the war was the inadequacy of the food supply even in normal times. This situation is becoming more critical because there has been no appreciable increase in food production in recent years, while the population increased by 83 millions in the two decades between 1921 and 1941.

The author stresses that the war, and particularly the Bengal famine, brought home the urgent need for improvement in both production and distribution if the Indian people are to enjoy anything approaching a decent standard of living. The body of the first part of the report summarizes the

effect of the war on industrial development and employment in India, as well as the government's policy toward strikes and lockouts, hours and wages. Improvement in India's industrial picture will remain difficult, however, so long as living standards continue low. Proper nutrition, health facilities, and education are needed in order that India's masses can have the will to contribute their skills and labor toward their own betterment. In other words, India must advance on all sectors of the social and economic front at the same time.

Part II briefly summarizes the evolution of post-war planning by the Government of India from 1941 until late in 1945, as well as the plans developed by Indian provinces and states and by some of the private groups which have issued proposals. While the review of these blueprints contains significant data, the author might well have pointed out that their implementation will depend largely on the political settlement reached. If the British transfer power in June 1948 to a unitary government, even though its powers are limited to defense, foreign relations, and transportation and communications, many of the blueprints can be revamped to fit development plans of the three groupings of provinces. Probably some coordination can be realized through a center with even such limited powers. On the other hand, if British power has to be parceled out to provinces and states, most wartime planning in India is apt to prove to have been in vain.

SHELDON MILLS
Department of State

ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia under Haile Selassie, by Christine Sandford. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1946. 149 pages. Illustrated. 10s. 6d.

Mrs. Sandford and her husband operated a farm near Addis Ababa for thirteen years prior to the Italo-Ethiopian War. She returned to Ethiopia in 1942. Her husband, as a Brigadier in the British Army, had already

gone back at the head of Ethiopian patriot forces which participated in the country's liberation late in 1940 and during 1941. Mrs. Sandford's account thus has a unique quality of intimate acquaintance with Ethiopian affairs.

Happily she is content to concentrate largely on those matters and that period of time on which she can speak with some first-hand knowledge. She makes no effort to do more than outline very briefly the geography, ethnography, and history of Ethiopia. Her chapter on "Village life," while brief, serves as an excellent introduction for that abstract reality — the "general reader."

The heart of her book, beginning with Chapter V, is the story of the career of the present Emperor and of the reforms he has initiated. For certainly Haile Selassie will go down in history as a great reformer. When he became regent in 1917 his country was a sprawling, poorly articulated empire just starting to emerge from the Middle Ages. He quickly sensed the necessity for modernizing the country's administrative apparatus and economic life. Yet he knew his people too well to think they could be catapulted from the fourteenth into the twentieth century overnight — the mistake made by the unfortunate Amanullah in Afghanistan. Nor was his own position too secure, even after the death of Zauditu and his coronation in 1930. He therefore had to make haste with heart-breaking slowness.

The Italian occupation and the exigencies of the recent war have set his program back far more than the years they endured. Mrs. Sandford reports that substantial progress has been made in certain fields since the Emperor's restoration in 1941 and that prospects appear bright for even greater progress in the future. Although independent reports reaching this country from Ethiopia would lead one to temper somewhat Mrs. Sandford's optimism, it is to be hoped that the way has been pointed for the country's recovery.

Mrs. Sandford writes easily, but manages to present a remarkable amount of factual material on such matters as provincial administration, slavery, social and financial reforms, the church and the courts. One of the most

interesting chapters tells how her husband organized and led the patriot forces operating against the Italians in Gojjam in 1940-41.

The appendix contains extracts from the Ethiopian Constitution of 1931, and the texts of two laws and a proclamation dealing with slavery and the slave trade.

ROBERT GALE WOOLBERT
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BOOKS ALSO NOTED

General

Constitutions, Electoral Laws, Treaties of States in the Near and Middle East, by Helen Miller Davis. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1947. 446 pages. \$5.00. A collection of constitutions, organic and electoral laws, and other important legislative measures, treaties, agreements, and mandates concerning ten states of the Middle East. (To be reviewed.)

Heirs of the Prophets, by Samuel M. Zwemer. Chicago: The Moody Bible Institute, 1946. 137 pages. \$2.00. A description of the organization of Islam today. (To be reviewed.)

Land Law and Custom in the Colonies, by Charles Kingsley Meek. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. 337 pages. \$6.00. (To be reviewed.)

Lawrence the Rebel, by Edward Robinson. London: Lincolns-Prager, 1946. 228 pages. 12s. 6d. Although primarily an attempt to elucidate the character of T. H. Lawrence, this book is more valuable for its review of the historical setting for the Arab revolt.

The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding, by F. S. C. Northrop. New York: Macmillan Co., 1946. 531 pages. \$6.00. An ambitious attempt to relate conflicting national and cultural ideas of the Orient and the Occident to a single philosophy of culture. (To be reviewed.)

Modern Trends in Islam, by H. A. R. Gibb. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. 141 pages. \$2.50. Explores the background, causes, nature, and prospects of the modernist movement in Islam which wants to maintain the traditional close religious-social relationship. (To be reviewed.)

Muslim Conduct of State: Being a Treatise on Muslim Public International Law, by Muhammad Hamidullah. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, 1946. 253 pages.

Le Panarabisme, by Jean Lugol. Cairo: Scribe Egyptien, 1946. 307 pages. 850 mils. Rather more a review of Pan-Islamism than Pan-Arabism, followed by a survey of the present Arab states of the Middle East. The author is the chief editor of the Cairo newspaper, *Bourse Egyptien*.

The Shadow of the Sword, by James C. DeWilde. New York: Querido, 1946. 158 pages. \$2.00. A rather confused and unconvincing argument that "the oriental nations will soon claim their place in the sun and, what is far more significant, their rightful share in the wealth of the earth."

Spirits Rebellious, by Kahlil Gibran. New York: Philosophical Library, 1947. 121 pages. \$2.75. A translation from the Arabic of a book which at the turn of the century caused considerable indignation among church and state officials for its denunciation of religious and political injustice then prevailing.

Tears and Laughter, by Kahlil Gibran. New York: Philosophical Library, 1947. 112 pages. \$2.75. A book of poetry-prose translated from the Arabic works of this poet-philosopher.

The United States and the Near East, by E. A. Speiser. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. 263 pages. \$2.50. (American Foreign Policy Library, Sumner Welles, ed.) (To be reviewed.)

Visages de l'Islam, by Haidar Bammate (Georges Rivoire). Lausanne: Payot, 1946. 587 pages, 8 plates. \$4.75. [New York: W. S. Heinman & Co.] A treatise on all aspects of Moslem civilization, past and present. (To be reviewed.)

Zoroaster and His World, by Ernest Herzfeld. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. 2 vols. 851 pages. \$25.00. A historical criticism of the Avesta consisting mainly of the study of personal names, sociology, ethnography, and topography.

Arab States

Egyptian Trade Index, 1945-1946. Alexandria (Egypt), 1946. £2. An index, issued annually in November, listing importers, exporters, manufacturers, and British firms desiring to trade with Egypt.

The Kingdom of Iraq, by a Committee of Officials. Published by the Government of Iraq, 1946. 118 pages, 49 photographs. [Obtainable upon request at the Iraqi Embassy, Washington, D. C.] A brief description of the royal family, geography, history, people, government, economic system, education, health, public security, and buildings of Iraq, supplemented by illustrations and a reference bibliography.

Syria, an Historical Appreciation, by Robin Fedden. London: Robert Hale, 1946. 287 pages. Illustrated from photographs mainly by A. Costa.

Travels in Arabia Deserta, by Charles M. Doughty. New York: Random House, 1946. 2 vols. in one. 674 + 696 pages. \$7.50. A new edition, complete and unabridged, of the classic work on the Arabian desert, with the introduction by T. E. Lawrence.

India

An Advanced History of India, by Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and Kalikinkar Datta. London: Macmillan and Co., 1946. 1081 pages. 28s.

Are We Two Nations? Nationalities in Indian politics; a scientific and nonpartisan approach, by M. S. Vairanapillai. Lahore: The author, Forman Christian College, 1946. 316 pages. 10s.

Autobiography of a Yogi, by Paramhansa Yogananda. New York: Philosophical Library, 1946. 498 pages. \$3.50. A Hindu yogi writes the story of his life for a Western audience.

Bengal Journey: A Story of the Part Played by Women in the Province, 1939-1945, by Rumer Godden. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946. 133 pages. 10s. 6d.

Caste in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origins, by J. H. Hutton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946. New York: Macmillan Co. 279 pages. \$3.75. The caste system is here

studied as the organic response to the requirements of India's 400 million people, who, although a geographical unit, are composed of different elements of great diversity whose varying demands need to be satisfied within a single social system. (To be reviewed.)

Divided India, by Robert Aura Smith. New York: Whittlesey House, 1947. 253 pages. \$3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Europe Looks at India: A Study in Cultural Relations, by Alex Aaronson. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946. 200 pages.

Handbook of National Planning Committee. Compiled by Khushal Talaksi Shah. Bombay: Vora & Co., 1946. 166 pages.

Important Speeches and Writings of Subhas Bose. Ed. by Jagat S. Bright. Lahore: Indian Printing Works, 1946. 336 pages.

India at the Threshold, by L. Winifred Bryce. New York: Friendship Press, 1946. 177 pages. \$1.00. An introduction to India's social and religious problems written by a woman long resident there both as a missionary and a teacher.

India Divided, by Rajendra Prasad. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946. 427 pages. The author is a member of the present Indian Interim Government.

Indian Studies. Delhi: United Publications, 1946. [Available at Indian Information Office, Washington, D. C.] A collection of assorted essays on general topics concerning India.

Leader by Merit, by Abdul Majid Khan. Lahore: Indian Printing Works, 1946. 312 pages. A study of the career and character of Sardar Patel, as well as his ideas and ideals, including his important speeches from 1921 to 1946.

The Life of Jawaharlal Nehru, by Jagat S. Bright. Lahore: Indian Printing Works, 1946. 298 pages.

Netaji Speaks to the Nation, by Subhas Chandra Bose. Lahore: Hero Publications, 1946. 336 pages. A symposium of important speeches and writings of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from 1928 to 1945. It includes his broadcasts, addresses, and orders of the day from Berlin,

Rangoon, and other places, with introductions surveying the history of the period when they were delivered or written.

Our Economic Problems, by R. V. Rao. Lahore: Lion Press, 1946. 121 pages.

Pakistan, a Myth or a Reality? by M. L. A. Virendra. Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, 1946. 155 pages.

Some Ancient Cities of India, by Stuart Piggott. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. 120 pages, 8 plates, 14 plans. \$1.25.

What Gandhi Has Done for India. Lahore: Ilami Markaz, 1946. 184 pages. A compilation of articles on Gandhi's life and work.

The Woman Who Swayed America: Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, by R. L. Khipple. Lahore: Lion Press, 1946. 171 pages.

Iran

Iran, by Muhammad Iqbal. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946. (Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs.) 32 pages. 9d.

Palestine

The Anglo-Palestine Year Book, 1946. Ed. F. J. Jacoby and I. A. Abbady. London: Anglo-Palestine Publications, 1946. 384 pages. 25s. An account of Palestine's agricultural, industrial, and financial development since the beginning of the mandate. (To be reviewed.)

The Emergence of the Jewish Problem, 1878-1939, by James Parkes. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. 259 pages. \$5.00. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs [New York Publications Office, 542 Fifth Ave., New York 19, N. Y.] (To be reviewed.)

Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies. New Haven: Esco Foundation for Palestine, 1947. 2 vols. 1350 pages. \$12.00. Consists of material contributed by scholars in various fields, and covers Palestine from the middle of the 19th century to the present. (To be reviewed.)

The Palestine Problem, by Richard B. Williams-Thompson. London: Andrew Melrose, 1946. 127 pages. 12s. 6d. The author is a public rela-

tions officer of the British Ministry of Production.

Palestine's Economic Future: A Review of Progress and Prospects, ed. J. B. Hobman. London: Children and Youth Aliyah Committee for Great Britain, 1946. [New York: W. S. Heinman & Co.] 310 pages, 179 photographs. \$5.00. (To be reviewed.)

Palestine Through the Fog of Propaganda, by M. F. Abcarius. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1946. 240 pages. 12s. 6d.

The Palestine Year Book, Volume II, ed. Sophie A. Udin. New York: Zionist Organization of America, 1946. 658 pages. \$3.75. A review of events from July 1945 to Sept. 25, 1946. (To be reviewed.)

Rebellion in Palestine, by John Marlowe. London: Cresset Press, 1946. 279 pages. \$4.50. [New York: W. S. Heinman & Co.] An analysis of the cause of the Palestine disturbances of 1936-

39, plus an account of the disturbances themselves. (To be reviewed.)

The Revival of Palestine, by Joshua Ziman. New York: Sharon Books, 1946. 192 pages. \$2.50. An account of Jewish economic activities in Palestine from 1880 to the present.

Turkey

Life in Modern Turkey, by E. W. F. Tomlin. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946. 5s.

Turkish American English Industrial Commercial Directory. Istanbul, 1946. £3 10s. 6d. Published annually in August. Printed in Turkish, French, and English. Lists Turkish firms and products they export or manufacture, and foreign firms desiring to trade with Turkey.

Turkestan

Mission to Tashkent, by Lt. Col. F. M. Bailey. London: Jonathan Cape, 1946. 312 pages. 15s. (To be reviewed.)

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer, Near East Section, Library of Congress

With contributions from: Nabia Abbott, Elizabeth Bacon, John Dorosh, Richard Ettinghausen, Carl Ginsburg, Sidney Glazer, Harold W. Glidden, Harvey P. Hall, Cecil Hobbs, Herbert J. Liebesny, George C. Miles, Leon Nemoy, Horace I. Poleman, C. Rabin, and Benjamin Schwartz.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East roughly since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of excellent bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Moslem Spain, the Arab world, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of Soviet Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkestan, and India. The ancient Near East, Byzantium, Zionism and Palestine¹ are excluded; in the case of India, only material dealing with history and the social sciences since 1600 will normally be considered.² An attempt will be made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields, with the exception of those published in the languages of India.

¹ Palestine, Zionism, the Jews of Palestine, etc. are omitted only because of the existence of a current, cumulative bibliography devoted to this field, i.e. *Zionism and Palestine*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library in New York.

² Art and archaeology, language and literature, etc. are well covered by the following: Kern Institute. *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology* (Leiden); George M. Moraes. *Bibliography of Indological studies 1942-*, (Bombay), Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences.

For list of abbreviations, see page 244.

GEOGRAPHY

(General, description, travel and exploration, natural history, geology)

- 232 BRITTAİN, MARY Z. "Doughty's mirror of Arabia." *Moslem World* 37 (Ja '47) 42-8. Considers this classic to be required reading for missionaries, anthropologists, oil men, diplomats and travelers—in short, for everyone who needs or desires a profound understanding of the Arab world.
- 233 ḤABĪBĪ, 'ABD AL-ḤAYY. "The dependencies of Kabul in the time of the Timurids of India." (in Persian) *Āryānā* 4 (Asad 1325) 6-8. An enumeration of these districts, with the revenues thereof.
- 234 GVOZDETSKII, N. A. "Ararat, the Kars Province and the Chorokh District." (in Russian) *Nauka i Zhizn'* (Moscow) 5-6

(1946) 17-22. Historical, geographical, and geological description with maps and illustrations. Reference is made to the Soviet Transcaucasian boundaries prior to 1920 and to the progress of the Armenian and Georgian people under the Soviet rule. The question of the restoration of the original historical boundaries of Armenia and Georgia is also considered.

- 235 KĀMIL, MURĀD. "On the Lake Tana project." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 4 (Ja '47) 674-82. A historical and geographical description of Lake Tana and its islands, prefacing a series of articles to be published on the project of regulating the flow of the Blue Nile from Lake Tana.
- 236 LISITZYAN, LEVON. "Physiographic Armenia." *Armenian Quart.* 1 (summer '46) 173-85. The author develops the thesis that the Armenian "plateau" as a geographic

- unitary entity affected Armenian history in all its phases from earliest times to the present.
- 237 PARKER, JOHN. "Impressions of the Soviet Middle East." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 341-56. Travel account by a British M.P. of trip through Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Ferghana, and Turkmenia. Some new material on Soviet policy; interesting political conclusions.
- 238 WILLIAMS, MAYNARD OWEN. "Syria and Lebanon taste freedom." *Natl. Geog. Mag.* 90 (D '46) 729-63. An interesting and beautifully illustrated account of a slow motor trip through the two states.
- 239 ZWEMER, SAMUEL M. "Al Haramain: Mecca and Medina." *Moslem World* 37 (Ja '47) 7-15. A colorful, if somewhat unsympathetic, description of the two holiest cities of Arabia where "the four freedoms of the Atlantic charter are still unknown."

HISTORY AND POLITICS

(Ancient, medieval, modern)

- 240 "A historic letter." (in Persian) *Āryānā* 4 (Asad 1325) facing pp. 8-9. Reproduction and transcription of a letter, now in the Kabul Museum, written by Moḥammad Akbar Khān Ghāzī, a leader in the First Afghan War. The text deals with the treatment of the captive daughter of a British prisoner named Anderson.
- 241 "Ibn Saud visits American partners." *Life* 22 (F 17 '47) 23-7. A picture story of the King's recent visit to Dhahran where he was the guest of the Arabian American Oil Co.
- 242 "India." *The Round Table* (London) 145 (D '46) 64-70. A sympathetic evaluation of Lord Wavell's work to date.
- 243 "Materials on the history of the Tadjiks and Tadjikistan. Vol. I. Stalinabad, Institute of History, Literature & Language of the TFAN SSSR, 1945." (in Russian) *Voprosy ist.* (Moscow) 5-6 (1946) 119-21. A review of contributions by the historians V. V. Struve, M. S. Andreyev, N. A. Kisiakov, and A. Ye. Madzhi on the history of Tadjikistan. These essays, according to the reviewer, show the need for special studies on the ancient and medieval periods of the history of that region that are based on archaeological investigation.
- 244 "Two letters of Amīr-e Kabīr." (in Persian) *Yādgar* (Tehran) 3 (Ag-S '46) 52-8. Selections from the correspondence of Mirzā Taqīkhān Amīr-e Kabīr, foreign minister of Iran from the beginning of Rabi' I A. H. 1265 to 19 Ramaḍān A. H. 1269.
- 245 "U. S. — Arab views on the Palestine problem." *Dept. of State Bull.* 15 (N 10 '46) 848-51. Exchange of messages between King Ibn Saud and President Truman.
- 246 A.K.S.L. "Recent moves in Persia: Azerbaijan and the elections." *The World Today* (London) 3 (Ja '47) 29-32. An excellent review by a competent observer (Miss Lambton) who believes that the *Tudeh* party is in almost "total eclipse."
- 247 BAZILEVICH, K. "A valuable work on the history of Georgia." (in Russian) *Bolshevik* (Moscow) 23 (Ap '46) 67-75. A review of the first volume of a textbook on the history of Georgia published under the editorship of Prof. S. Dzhnanashia (Tbilisi, 1946). It is, says the reviewer, an attractive work, accessible in exposition and scientific in treatment, significant for its excursion into the Georgian language.
- 248 BELL, REAR-ADMIRAL V. "The situation in the Mediterranean." *New Times* (Moscow) 17 (S 1 '46) 8-12. Reviews recent British and American moves in the Near East and concludes that any attempt at monopoly control will meet with "legitimate opposition" from all other interested states. France and Italy must resume the place to which they are entitled and become once more important political factors on the Mediterranean.
- 249 BONNÉ, A. "The Oriental state: from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic." *J. Middle East Soc.* 1 (O-D '46) 24-38. A summary of the principles which differentiate Eastern and Western conceptions of the State, together with a review of the changes in thought which followed World War I, as exemplified by the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic.
- 250 BOSE, NIRMAL KUMAR. "Swaraj and the state." *Viśva-Bharati Quart.* 12 n. s. (Jl '46) 61-72. A statement of Gandhi's views on Indian independence, its desirability, and means (essentially non-violent) for its attainment. Especially significant is the view that this independence is desirable only in so far as it benefits the people as a whole.
- 251 CHARTERIS, M. M. C. "A year as an intelligence officer in Palestine." *J. Middle East Soc.* 1 (O-D '46) 15-23. An analysis of the attitude which the common British soldier stationed in Palestine has toward the situation there.
- 252 CHASE JR., FRANCIS. "New battle for old Egypt." *Tomorrow* 6 (Ja '47) 28-30. British withdrawal from Egypt was chiefly attributable to Egyptian nationalism expressed in violent Anglophobia. Some biographical details of Sidqi Pasha.
- 253 CLINE, WALTER B. "Nationalism in Morocco." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ja '47) 18-28. Analyzes the character of the nationalist movement in Morocco and the reasons for its failure to attain greater success. Special attention is paid to the activity of the nationalists during World War II.

- 254 COATMAN, JOHN. "The Indian problem." *Contemp. Rev.* 967 (Jl '46) 6-12. A sketch of the historical background of the present situation.
- 255 DANTZIG, B. "The internal political situation in Turkey." (in Russian) *Mirovoye khozyaistvo i mirovaya politika* (Moscow) 21 (Ap-M'y '46) 60-70. An analysis of the growth of reaction in Turkey accompanied by the development of anti-Soviet policy and pro-British leanings on the part of the bourgeois parties.
- 256 DAVIDSON-HOUSTON, LIEUT. COLONEL J. V. "Russia in Asia." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 357-71. Superficial survey of Russian expansion in Asia and present relations with bordering countries, including Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey.
- 257 DEIGHTON, H. S. "The Arab Middle East and the modern world." *Internat. Affairs* (London) 22 (O '46) 511-20. A generally helpful analysis of the various elements involved, with particular emphasis on Egypt.
- 258 DODDS, J. LEROY. "Pakistan." *Moslem World* 37 (Ja '47) 39-41. Holds that the present crisis is the result of the increasing dominance of religious differences and fears in Indian politics, not British reluctance to grant independence.
- 259 EPTON, NINA. "Home rule for Morocco?" *World Rev.* (London) (N '46) 26-30. Not yet! The author, recently returned from French North Africa, thinks that the French will have to be more helpful than they have been if the Moroccans are to develop the capacity for self-government.
- 260 ESMER, AHMED SÜKRÜ. "The Straits: crux of world politics." *Foreign Affairs* 25 (Ja '47) 290-302. Regards the Montreux Convention of 1936 as the arrangement best suited to the requirements of the day.
- 261 FRYE, RICHARD N. "The role of Abū Muslim in the 'Abbāsid revolt." *Moslem World* 37 (Ja '47) 28-38. A keen interpretation of the part played by this loyal pro-Abbāsid and good Moslem in a successful attempt to instigate both the Arabs and Iranians of Khorasan to overthrow the province's Omayyad rule.
- 262 GRAY, L. C. "The Arab world." *Tomorrow* 6 (F '47) 16-20. Emphasizes the elements that divide the various groups and interests. A genuine Arab awakening can be affected only by the thin layer of the population that has received Western training or influence. These intellectuals or "young effendis" at the moment are using up their energies in "nationalist agitation."
- 263 GRIGORIAN, M. "Iran after the war." (in Russian) *Mirovoye khozyaistvo i mirovaya politika* (Moscow) 21 (Ap-M'y '46) 47-59. A brief survey of economic conditions in Iran, followed by a review of the country's political history since 1914, culminating in a justification of the position of the USSR vis-à-vis Iran during the early months of 1946.
- 264 HARLOW, VINCENT. "Ceylon, experiment in democracy." *World Affairs* (Washington) 109 (Je '46) 123-7. It is up to the Sinhalese majority to prove Ceylon's fitness for dominion status by making the new constitution work in co-operation with the minority groups, particularly the Tamils.
- 265 HORNIKER, ARTHUR LEON. "Anglo-French rivalry in the Levant from 1583 to 1612." *J. of Mod. History* 18 (D '46) 289-305. Skilful English diplomatists confronting the dissolute representatives of a France weakened by civil and religious war and in financial straits were able to gain for England, at the expense of France, important trade privileges as well as political influence at the Porte.
- 266 HOUGH, W. "History of the British Consulate in Jerusalem." *J. Middle East Soc.* 1 (O-D '46) 3-14. Informal remarks and reminiscences by the last holder of the office. Some particular attention paid to Consul James Finn.
- 267 HOWARD, HARRY. "The problem of the Turkish Straits: principal treaties and conventions." *Dept. of State Bull.* 15 (N 3 '46) 790-807. Selections from 23 important treaties signed between 1774 and 1939.
- 268 HOWARD, HARRY N. "The United States and the problem of the Turkish Straits." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ja '47) 59-72. Traces with detailed footnotes and numerous quotations all statements of U. S. policy in regard to the Straits up through the note of Oct. 9, 1946.
- 269 JONES, HOWARD MUMFORD. "The mysterious west." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 & 7 (D '46) 133-38. An address given at the annual dinner of the Iranian Institute in 1944. Deals with the active relations between East and West and the reasons for their interruption in recent centuries.
- 270 KHACHAPURIDZE, G. "Cultural relations between Russia and Georgia during the first half of the 19th century." (in Russian) *Voprosy ist.* 5-6 (1946) 76-89. Traces the mutual cultural influences existing between Russia and Georgia, the contribution made by men like Griboyedov, Pushkin, and Lermontov to Russia's knowledge of her newly acquired territory (Russia annexed Georgia in 1801), and the influence that country exerted on their literary creations.
- 271 KOCAELI, NIHAT ERIM. "The development of the Anglo-Turkish alliance." *Asiatic Rev.* 42 (O '46) 347-51. Sketches the historical facts which led up to the tripartite alliance between Turkey, Great Britain, and France at Ankara on Oct. 19, 1939. Relates the benefits to Turkey from its close relationship with the British Commonwealth.

- 272 LEHRMAN, HAL. "Egypt: empire and Araby." *Commentary* 2 (N '46) 428-35. The Arab world, particularly Egypt, as it looked to a journalist March-April 1945. Few kind remarks about the Arabs, even fewer about the English.
- 273 LENCZOWSKI, GEORGE. "The communist movement in Iran." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ja '47) 29-45. Traces the history of the *Tudeh* party from its founding in 1942 until the fall of 1946, with an estimate of its significance for the future of Iran.
- 274 LOCKHART, LAURENCE. "The menace of Muscat and its consequences in the late 17th and early 18th centuries." *Asiatic Rev.* 42 (O '46) 363-69. A detailed historical account of the important part played by strategically located Muscat in its relationship with the Portuguese, English, French, and Persian governments.
- 275 MANANDIAN, YA. "A brief survey of the history of ancient Armenia." *Armenian Quart.* 1 (summer '46) 186-201. First installment of what is designed as a major opus on ancient Armenian history. P. 187 has comments on the patronymic *Haygg* (sic!); the uncritical repetition of Marr's *Japhetica* tends to vitiate the account.
- 276 MCKAY, VERNON. "The Arab League in world politics." *Foreign Policy Reports* 22 (N 15 '46) 206-15. Relates the aims and work of the League and the divisive forces which have weakened the organization.
- 277 MORGAN, EDWARD P. "The Arabs mobilize." *Colliers* 119 (Ja 11 '47) 18 plus. Concerned with the rapid development of two nationalist youth organizations, the *Naj-jadah* and the *Futuwwah*.
- 278 NIMRI, N. N. "The warrior people of Djebel Druze: a militant minority in the Middle East." (part one) *J. Middle East Soc.* 1 (O-D '46) 47-62. A brief history of the Druzes, both in the Lebanon and in the Djebel Druze. Includes a genealogical table of the Ismail branch of the Atrash family.
- 279 PERLMANN, I. "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." *Palestine Affairs* 1 (N '46) 4-7. An informative background sketch.
- 280 RAO, B. SHIVA. "India's independence." *Asia and the Americas* 46 (D '46) 445-9. Holds that only independence—nothing less—can settle the present situation (Hindu-Moslem conflict).
- 281 REISNER, I. "Some problems of the history of India." (in Russian) *Voprosy ist.* (Moscow) 5-6 (1946) 105-15. A review of *The problem of India* (London, 1943) by K. Shelvankar and *The future of India* (London, 1944) by Reginald Coupland. The reviewer deplores Shelvankar's failure to recognize the class struggle as one of the prime causes of the strife between the Hindus and the Moslems. Prof. Coupland is chided for defending British policy in India and for wanting to perpetuate it in some form.
- 282 ROBERTS, LUCIEN E. "Italy and the Egyptian question, 1878-82." *J. of Mod. History* 18 (D '46) 314-32. A detailed review of the Italian diplomacy whose aim was to prevent any Anglo-French co-operation that would hurt Italian interests in the Mediterranean.
- 283 SCOTT, ALAN. "Arab nationalism." *Contemp. Rev.* 970 (O '46) 208-11. Considers the Arab League and "unity under one flag" the only hope the Arab states have for restoration of their ancient greatness.
- 284 SEREZHIN, K. "British troops in Basra." *New Times* (Moscow) 16 (Ag 15 '46) 10-12. The action of the British in sending to Basra from Bombay a brigade of Indian troops is interpreted as an attempt to bring pressure upon Iran. Basra is now the new center for political intriguing in the countries of the Middle East.
- 285 SERGEYEV, M. "The battle of democracy against reaction in Iran." (in Russian) *Bolshevik* 23 (Je '46) 54-69. An analysis of Iran's strategic position together with a survey of the political development of that country since the beginning of this century. It emphasizes the role of Iranian oil in the interplay of forces around Iran and takes a swing at what the author calls "imperialistic circles in London and Washington."
- 286 WATSON, SIR ALFRED. "Britain's great achievements in the Sudan." *Gt. Brit. and East* 62 (N '46) ME 53-4. Brief sketch of the manner in which England entered the Sudan and what has been performed on behalf of the people.
- 287 YALMAN, AHMET EMIN. "The struggle for multi-party government in Turkey." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ja '47) 46-58. A review of the various attempts to found an opposition party in Turkey, with special attention devoted to the Democratic Party officially recognized in January 1946.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources, labor, transportation and communications)

- 288 "Air transport agreement with India." *Dept. of State Bull.* 15 (N 24 '46) 966-7. The first formal agreement concluded between the U.S. and the new government of India. This permits two American air lines to fly into and through India with equivalent rights for an Indian air service.
- 289 "British banking in the Middle East." *Gt. Brit. and East* 62 (D '46) F 59-61. Relates not only the sound basis upon which British banks are operated in Turkey, Palestine,

- Iran, and India but also shows how they aid these countries' normal trade.
- 290 "The future of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." *Geog. Rev.* 36 (O '46) 682-3. Economic-political note based on an article and two books recently published in England.
- 291 "Recent changes in Turkey mean trade expansion." *Gt. Brit. and East* 62 (N '46) ME 47-8. Summary account of significant political and economic changes which will affect the commerce of Turkey.
- 292 "United Kingdom's rising trade with Egypt." *Gt. Brit. and East* 62 (D '46) ME 53-4. An account of Anglo-Egyptian trade packed full of statistics from the latest report of the Anglo-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce conference held in London in November 1946.
- 293 BIRD, HUBERT. "A new air service." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabi* 7 (1946) 19. Brief sketch of the recently established 12-hour air service from London to Cairo, with details of other British air services to the Near East.
- 294 BONNÉ, A. "Aspects of economic reconstruction in west and east." *Internat. Affairs* (London) 22 (O '46) 521-32. An attempt to compare the main reconstruction issues before modern industrialized Western society and the predominantly agrarian areas of the Middle East.
- 295 DOWSON, V. H. "Iraq in 1946." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 247-59. Survey of conditions in post-war Iraq; particularly good for economic aspects.
- 296 IONIDES, M. G. "The perspective of water development in Palestine and Transjordan." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 271-80. Effective analysis of Palestine's water resources by a man who believes that Palestine cannot accommodate further immigration without depriving Transjordan of its water.
- 297 MACKENZIE, MARCUS. "Transjordan." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 260-70. Survey similar to that of Dowson on Iraq but more superficial.
- 298 KOGAN, M. "The struggle for Near Eastern oil." (in Russian) *New Times* (Moscow) 18 (S 15 '46) 8-11. A review of recent events.
- 299 MUKHOPADHYAY, SUDHENDU NARAYAN. "Minimum wage for labour in tea plantations." *Indian J. of Soc. Work* 7 (Je '46) 49-55. The disparity between living costs and wages in this industry are statistically illustrated, and a strong case made out for the establishment of a legal minimum wage, applicable to men and women both.
- 300 PATEL, S. K. J. "Is agriculture a paying occupation? An inquiry in the Bhal region." *Gujarat Res. Soc. J.* 8 (Ja '46) 16-25. The author attempts to prove statistically that farming, at least in the Bahl region, is a paying occupation under both the *samindari* and *ryotwari* systems.
- 301 ŠABBĀGH, 'ISĀ KHALIL. "A new air line in the Middle East." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabi* 7 (1946) 22-3. Brief account of new Arab air line with headquarters at Amman, Transjordan, and serving neighboring countries.
- 302 SALE, G. N. "Afforestation and soil conservation." *J. Middle East Soc.* 1 (O-D '46) 63-74. An analysis of the various factors contributing to the depletion of the soil in Palestine, particularly erosion, with suggestions for means of conservation. Special attention paid to the ubiquitous goat and "over-grazing."
- 303 SCHATZ, J. "Quantité et valeur des principales marchandises importées en Egypte et exportées de l'Egypte pendant les années 1913-1918 et 1938-1943." *L'Égypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) 232-3 (Mr-Apr '46) 135-205. Statistical tables complementing the analysis which appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1945 issue of this journal entitled "Commerce extérieur d'Égypte pendant les deux guerres mondiales."
- 304 THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA. "The oil fields of Saudi Arabia," etc. *Standard of California Bull.* 32 (autumn '46) 1-11. A series of six brief and popular but well-illustrated articles dealing with the oil fields, relations with the local government, exploration, the Ras Tanura refinery, local population, and living conditions of American personnel. Similar to the contents of the Saudi Arabian number of *The Texaco Star*. (See No. 306).
- 305 SYKES, MAJOR EDWARD. "Isfahan." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 307-17. Description of Isfahan, together with a discussion of the labor movement there and of the political sympathies of the Armenians of Julfa, a suburb of Isfahan.
- 306 THE TEXAS COMPANY. *The Texaco Star*, Saudi Arabian number, 33 (1946) 1-24. Twenty-four pages of text and photographs covering the history, operations, installations, and living conditions relating to the Arabian American Oil Company's activities in Saudi Arabia. Contains a map showing the area covered by the company's concession.
- 307 VERSCHOYLE, T. "Turkish tobacco." *Asiatic Rev.* 42 (O '46) 351-52. Relates primarily the harvesting and curing methods which make Turkish tobacco different from American varieties.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

(General, education, population and ethnology, medicine and public health, religion, law)

- 308 "Arab education in Palestine." *Palestine Affairs* (New York) 1 (O '46) 3-5. Although

- serious in almost every way, the situation is not hopeless.
- 309 AGARWALA, A. N. "Employers' liability movement in India and its future." *Indian textile J.* 56 (Je '46) 788-91. A brief account of the social insurance movement in India by one of India's most noted economists.
- 310 AL-'AMRĀN, AHMAD. "Education in Bahrain." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabi* 7 (1946) 23, 28. Brief sketch of the development in Bahrain of modern education, which began ca. 1919 as a result of a visit to Europe by H. H. Sheikh 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isā Āl Khalīfah.
- 311 APPASAMY, JUDITH AMES. "Indo-American amity." *Aryan Path* 17 (Jl '46) 251-55. On closer relations between India and America by an American woman, married to an Indian, who helped entertain G. I.'s in India.
- 312 AL-'ATABĀNĪ, ISMĀ'ĪL. "Social activity in the Sudan." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabi* 7 (1946) 10-11. A brief survey of present educational, political, social, and press activity in the Sudan.
- 313 BASU, K. P. and NATH, H. P. "Comparative value of butter-fats and vegetable oils for growth." *Indian J. Medical Res.* 34 (My '46) 33-37. Significant in view of the general vegetarian sentiment among Hindus. The article describes a controlled experiment on rats, an experiment which demonstrated statistically the superiority of animal over vegetable fats in the matter of growth.
- 314 BATŪĪ, RAFĀ'ĪL. "The press of Iraq." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabi* 7 (1946) 11, 28. Brief sketch of the history of the Iraqi press, with emphasis on its place in society.
- 315 BENTWICH, NORMAN. "Some non-legal aspects of the Sultan Abdul-Hamid land case." *J. Middle East Soc.* 1 (O-D '46) 39-45. Reviews the case and points out the numerous weaknesses in the argument originally put forward by the heirs of Sultan Abdul Hamid over twenty years ago.
- 316 BRINTON, JASPER Y. "The Egyptian mixed courts and foreign armed forces." *Amer. J. Internat. Law* 40 (O '46) 736-41. A critical discussion of an article by Colonel Archibald King which appeared in the April issue of the *Amer. J. of Internat. Law*.
- 317 BURR, MALCOLM. "A note on the Kurds." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 289-92. A brief review of recent history, a statement on distribution of Kurds, and a superficial account of present Kurdish policy of Syria, Iraq, and particularly Turkey.
- 318 CORKILL, N. L. "Traps from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." *J. Royal Anthropological Inst. of Gt. Brit. and Ireland* 73 (1943) 107-18. Description of various traps and snares used in catching game in the Nuba Mt. region. Illust.
- 319 DE, N. K., RANGANATHAN, S., and SUN-DARARAJAN, A. R. "Vitamin A and carotene content of ghee and 'fortified' margarine." *Indian J. Medical Res.* 34 (My '46) 3-12. Ghee, clarified butter-fat, is the principal form in which milk-fat is consumed in India. Controlled analyses show that the experimental dairy farm product yields more than three times as much vitamin A as the officially certified product. The article ends with the recommendation that ghee is best consumed directly since most of the vitamin A is lost in frying.
- 320 EREN, NURI. "The village institute of Turkey." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 281-88. Interesting account of agricultural education at the village level.
- 321 FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, CHRISTOPH VON. "Culture types in Assam Himalayas." *Indian Geog. J.* 21 (Je '46) 49-57. Discussion of primitive tribes in the Assam Himalayas, in particular the tribes known to the Assamese as Dafla and Hill Miri. Illust.
- 322 GARROD, OLIVER. "The Qashqai tribe of Fars." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 293-306. Excellent account of the history and culture of the Qashqai, a Turkish tribe in southern Iran about which almost nothing has been published previously.
- 323 GOVINDASWAMY, M. V. "Mental disorder in India: a review and a prospect." *Indian J. of Soc. Work* 7 (Je '46) 41-48. An important article on psychiatry (called psychological medicine) in India, with special reference to progress in this field since 1938. A detailed prospectus, legal and administrative, is offered.
- 324 HARDY, MARCELLA. "From the heights of Coorg." *Viśva-Bharati Quart.* 12 n. s. (Jl '46) 42-8. The Coorgs have maintained an entity and a tradition extending back to earliest Indian times. The author gives a brief, rather poetic account of Coorg history, tradition, and tribal habits.
- 325 HELLIER, A. S. "From the old to the new art teaching." *Teaching* (Madras) 19 (S '46) 1-4. Application of current teaching practices to India, with reference to availability of materials and training of teachers.
- 326 HINGORANI, D. K. "The Montessori method." *Teaching* (Madras) 19 (S '46) 5-10. Advocates a broadening of the Wardha experiment to include the pre-primary school training of Indian children along the general lines of the Montessori method.
- 327 HIRLEKAR, MRS. YAMUNABAI. "Social service and adult education." *Soc. Service Quart.* 33 (Jl '46) 7-11. While stressing the liquidation of illiteracy as the first objective, the author looks ahead to the proper cultural feeding of India's literates when that objective is attained.
- 328 HORNELL, JAMES. "Water transport in Asia." *Man* (London) 46 (S-O '46) 128.

- Brief note on a lecture concerning the evolution of various means of water transport in Asia.
- 329 HUZAYYIN, SULAYMĀN. "The Egyptians and conservatism." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 4 (Ja '47) 624-37. An apologia designed to prove that the Egyptian character is not opposed to change. While showing that Egypt is not static in the absolute sense, he attributes the long and unbroken history of her cultural life to her relative conservatism in accepting innovations.
- 330 HUZAYYIN, SULAYMĀN. "The village and rural reform in Egypt." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 4 (N '46) 254-66. Discussion of the deleterious effects of perennial irrigation on the Egyptian village community, with suggested remedial measures.
- 331 INBER, VERA. "Three weeks in Iran." *New Times* (Moscow) 17 (S 1 '46) 14-17. The author found very little that was attractive.
- 332 KĀTŪL, JIBRĀ'IL. "Education in Palestine." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabī* 7 (1946) 14-15, 27. A brief outline of the various types of government schools and their functioning in Palestine, with special reference to the Arab schools.
- 333 KAUFFMANN, H. E. "The thread-square symbol of the Nagas of Assam." *J. Royal Anthropological Inst. of Gt. Brit. and Ireland* 73 (1943) 101-106. On the distribution and use of thread squares among the various Naga tribes of Assam, with references to similar usage among the Kacharis, the Kachins of Burma, and the Tibetans. Illust.
- 334 KHADDURI, MAJID. "The Arab league as a regional arrangement." *Amer. J. Internat. Law* 40 (O '46) 756-77. Traces the genesis of the League and discusses its legal nature in terms of international and constitutional law.
- 335 LINDSAY, KENNETH. "The Arab world." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabī* 7 (1946) 18, 26. Concludes that Britain can be of great service in alleviating the illiteracy and low living standards which are the main problems of the Arab world. The author, who was a lecturer for the British Council, found no hostility to British cultural activity in the Near East.
- 336 LITTLE, K. L. "A Moslem Missionary in Mendeland, Sierra Leone." *Man* (London) 46 (S-O '46) 111-13. A brief account of the status of Islam in Sierra Leone and of the activities of a Moslem missionary there.
- 337 MATHUR, RANG BAHADUR. "Reorganization of science teaching." *Science and Culture* 12 (S '46) 129-34. Advocates overhauling of outmoded program from the lowest to the highest educational levels, and the institution of a program more in conformity with current trends in general, and India's needs in particular.
- 338 MITRA, D. N. "Mourning customs and modern life in Bengal." *Amer. J. Sociology* 52 (Ja '47) 309-11. "With the change in mode of daily life in present-day Bengal, the mores are becoming a great personal inconvenience and emotional drain on the individual."
- 339 MŪSĀ, SALĀMAH. "My fight for education and my journalistic experiences." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 4 (Ja '47) 647-54. Account by a former (1923-1929) editor of *al-Hilāl* and other periodicals, of his life as an editor and publisher in Egypt. Contains good observations on the growth of the Egyptian press and the operations of censorship both during and after the period of direct British control.
- 340 NARENDRANATH, RAJA. "Hindu-Muslim unity." *Indian Rev.* 47 (S '46) 484-86. The article is in the form of a letter from the late Raja of Lahore to Dr. S. M. Abdullah concerning the latter's book on the contribution of Hindus to Persian and Urdu literature. The author expresses the view that communal relations would improve if both communities made a serious attempt to learn and understand the secular and temporal culture of the other.
- 341 QĀ'EMMAQĀMI, JEHĀNGIR. "Tribes of Khuzestan: the Lorkīs." (in Persian) *Yādgar* (Tehran) 3 (Ag-S '46) 71-4. A brief account of this subdivision of the Qashqais of Iran, with references to historical sources.
- 342 RAO, C. HAYAVADANA. "The aborigines of India." *Indian Geog. J.* 21 (Je '46) 65-9. Physical description of pre-Dravidian (only) aboriginal elements in present-day population of India, and comparison with similar aboriginal elements in Australia and the Malay archipelago.
- 343 RAO, P. KODANDA. "Indians overseas; the position in Malaya." *India Quart.* 2 (Je '46) 150-62. The author was a member of the Indian deputation which investigated the plight of Indians in Malaya after the British reoccupation. Specific, detailed, factual, and amazingly even-tempered, this report is a must for all who are interested in Indian affairs.
- 344 SA'D AL-DĪN, MURSI. "The modern Egyptian press." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabī* 7 (1946) 11. The press of Egypt, unlike that of the West, was founded chiefly as a vehicle for reformers and nationalists. Its present emphasis on articles and essays arises from the need to educate the public, for many of whom the newspaper is the only form of literature that they can afford to buy.
- 345 SARKAR, DR. R. N. "Labour, a problem of the Mofussils." *Indian Medical Record* 66 (Ap '46) 92-6. Calls attention to the almost primitive and unsanitary conditions sur-

- rounding childbirth in this corner of Bengal; makes specific recommendations for improvement.
- 346 SERGEYEV, M. "Southern Iran again." *New Times* (Moscow) 20 (O 15 '46) 25-8. A refutation of an article in the Aug. 28th issue of the *Daily News Bulletin*, published by the British Embassy in Tehran, which attempted to explain away the facts on the conditions of workers in Abadan as they were described in two articles published earlier this year in the *New Times* (Nos. 11 & 12).
- 347 SHOURIE, K. L. "Eruption age of teeth in India." *Indian J. of Medical Res.* 34 (My '46) 105-18. Graphs, charts, and tables. Differences in eruption ages between girls and boys are not marked, nor are those marked between children of north and south India. Incidence of eruptions, however, occurs earlier in India as a whole than in America.
- 348 SHOURIE, K. L. "Fluorine and dental caries in India." *Indian J. of Medical Res.* 34 (My '46) 97-104. Statistical study shows that fluorine in water, while mottling the enamel, results in significant decrease in dental caries.
- 349 SINGH, RAJA SIR MAHARAJ. "Some problems of Indians overseas." *J. Indian Inst. of Internat. Affairs* 2 (Jl '46) 15-25. A discussion chiefly of the situation in East and South Africa. Indians are advised to join forces with native Africans.
- 350 SMITH, MARION. "Village notes from Bengal." *Amer. Anthropologist* 49 (O-D '46) 574-92. Ethnographic material obtained from a Muslim Bengali in New York concerning his home town.
- 351 SRIVASTAVA, KEDAR NATH. "Bhils of Mewar." *Indian Geog. J.* 21 (Je '46) 70-8. A detailed and illustrated description of the primitive tribe of Bhils in Mewar.
- 352 TANNOUS, AFIF I. "The Arab tribal community in a nationalist state." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ja '47) 5-17. Points out that the "problem" of the tribes is not so much how to settle them as how to integrate their economy and way of life into that of the whole state.
- 353 THĀBIT, MUNĪRAH. "The political rights of women in the Arab east." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabi* 7 (1946) 7, 27. A demand for the implementation of the promises of political equality for women made in the Egyptian constitution and in the United Nations charter.
- 354 TITIEV, MISCHA. "A Dasehra celebration in Delhi." *Amer. Anthropologist* 49 (O-D '46) 676-80. Description of an Hindu Vaishnava celebration which the author witnessed.
- 355 VENKAT RAMAN, S. R. "Chowdar Harijan conference." *Social Service Quart.* 33 (Jl '46) 12-25. The concluding portion of the presidential address to the conference. Temple entry, prohibition of opium and alcohol, and education are strongly advocated to alleviate the condition of the "untouchables."
- 356 WATSON, CHARLES R. "Higher educational institutions and their influence." *Moslem World* 37 (Ja '47) 16-22. The author, president emeritus of the American University in Cairo, concludes that higher education is often the only practical approach of Christianity to Islam. The result is not conversions in the sense of baptisms into the Christian Church but rather the development of increased tolerance and spirituality.
- 357 WEINRYB, BERNARD D. "The Arab village in Palestine." *Palestine Affairs* (New York) 1 (N '46) 1-4. A description of the social structure and land holding system which, unless changed, will prevent the effective utilization of modern agricultural methods.

SCIENCE

- 358 DESAI, B. N. "Mechanism of heavy rainfall during the monsoon season in Gujrat." *Gujarat Res. Soc. J.* 8 (Ja '46) 2-10. A statistical study of rainfall variations during the monsoon, with charts and tables.
- 359 MEHTA, DR. B. H. "Training of women for rural work." *Indian J. of Soc. Work* 7 (Je '46) 11-18. The article would better be entitled: "Training of women in rural areas." Some slight account of the Kasturba movement in India.
- 360 ÜNVER, A. SÜHEYL. "Notes on the history of ether anesthesia in Turkey." *J. Hist. of Medicine* 1 (O '46) 675-6. The author is the Director of the Institute of Medical History, University of Istanbul.

ART

(*Archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, minor arts, painting and music, manuscripts and papyri*)

- 361 "Perhaps the greatest archaeological find in Ceylon: a unique ivory statuette and exquisite gold reliquaries." *Illustr. London News* 210 (Ja 11 '47) 52-3 with 8 figures. (Based on report of S. Parनावितarne). In a lady's necklace are included 9 gold coins of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muṭṭi' (946-74). Several of them were struck in South Arabia and bear the name of the Ziyārid Ishāq b. Ibrahim (903-81). The coins are illustrated.
- 362 ABBOTT, NABIA. "The Kaṣr Kharāna Inscription of 92 H. (710 A.D.), a new reading." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 190-5. Improves the older readings of Moritz, Janssen and Savignac and of the *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie Arabe*.

- 363 AGA-OGU, MEHMET. "Is the ewer of Saint Maurice d'Agaune a work of Sasanian Iran?" *Art Bull.* 28 (S '46) 160-70, with 5 figures on 1 plate. Convincing proof that the famous enameled gold ewer is not Sasanian or Islamic, as has been asserted, but Byzantine, made during the late Macedonian period.
- 364 AGA-OGU, MEHMET. "A preliminary note on two artists from Nishapur." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 121-4 with 5 figures. Discusses two inlaid bronze inkwells signed by 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Mas'ūd al-Naisābūrī and Nāṣir ibn As'ad Naisābūrī (second half of 12th century A.D.), both belonging to Mr. Joseph Brummer, New York.
- 365 P. A. (= Phyllis Ackerman). "Note on some Parthian textile elements." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 19. Although no textiles from the Parthian empire have so far been found, a distinctive technique and a motif are here suggested as Parthian on account of finds from neighboring regions.
- 366 ACKERMAN, PHYLLIS. "A note on the gurs." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 124. A very short comment on representations of Persian maces with animal-head endings.
- 367 ACKERMAN, PHYLLIS and POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "A Sasanian bronze ewer." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 57-61. Study of a ewer in the possession of Mr. Joseph Brummer, New York, its iconography and date.
- 368 ACKERMAN, PHYLLIS. "An unpublished Sasanian silk." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 42-50. Two pieces of an hitherto unknown silk in the Moore collection of Yale University are attributed to the Sasanian period — most probably to Khusrav I, 531-79 — and their iconography is interpreted.
- 369 BAHRAMI, MEHDI. "Further dated examples of Persian ceramic wares." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 110-19 with 15 figures. Discusses luster painted vessels of 598, 611, 617, and 663 A. H., luster tiles of 617, 672, 673, and 738 A. H. and a polychrome painted bowl of 604 A. H.
- 370 BAHRAMI, MEHDI. "Some objects recently discovered in Iran." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 71-7, 8 figs. Discusses 2 bronzes showing Assyrian influence (first millennium B.C.) from Surkh Dum, a silver plate from the Ardebil region (c. 1000 B.C.), a Sasanian silver dish and a carved stucco revetment of the 12th century. In a postscript by A. U. Pope, there is the first announcement of important ceramic finds of the medieval Islamic period at Gurgan.
- 371 BRIGGS, AMY. "Timurid carpets." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 146-58, with 16 figures, 9 in text and the rest on 6 plates. General discussion of "arabesque and flower carpets" and more specific analysis of one group of these called "compartment carpets." A previous section of this study was published in *Ars Islamica* 7 (1940) pages 20-54.
- 372 BRITTON, NANCY PENCE. "Egypto-Arabic textiles in the Montreal museum." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 198-200, with 6 figures on 2 plates. Discusses 6 fragments from the 8/9th to the middle of the 12th century.
- 373 BUCHTHAL, HUGO. "A note on Islamic enamelled metal work and its influence in the Latin West." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 195-8, with 6 figures on 2 plates. Traces the influence of Islamic prototypes on the enamelled gemellions made in Limoges in the 13th and early 14th centuries.
- 374 CAPART, JEAN. "A Darius inscription from El Kab." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 18-19. Announces an inscription of Darius II and a set of 100 Persian pottery vessels from the Achaemenid occupation of Egypt.
- 375 COGHLAN, H. H. "The evolution of the axe from prehistoric to Roman times." *J. Royal Anthropological Inst. of Gr. Brit. and Ireland* 73 (1943) 27-56. Study of the evolution of the axe in Europe and in the Middle East, with reference to finds in the latter area from Egypt to Iran. Illust.
- 376 CRESWELL, K. A. C. "The lawfulness of painting in early Islam." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 159-66. Revised and supplemented version of an essay first published in the author's *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. I (Oxford 1932).
- 377 EDWARDS, A. CECIL. "A note on Iranian carpet knots." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 130. Deals with the geographical distribution of the Turki and Farsi carpet knots (usually called Ghiordes and Sehna knots in the West); postscript by Phyllis Ackerman on pre-Islamic uses of the two types of knots.
- 378 ERDMANN, KURT. "Afrasiab ceramic wares." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 102-10, with 10 figures. Among the 20,000 fragments of pottery found by an unnamed traveller at Afrasiab (Samarkand) some decades ago and sent to the Berlin Museum, wasters of ten different ceramic types indicate extensive local production which is summarily discussed.
- 379 FIKRI, AHMAD. "The innovation of the mihrab." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 4 (N '46) 306-20. An examination of the authenticity of a tradition contained in the *Katāb I'lām al-Arīb bi-Hudūth Bid'at al-Maḥārīb*, ascribed to al-Suyūṭī. Concludes that the use of the mihrab goes back to earliest Islamic times and that it was not

- borrowed from the Christian altar. Contains a special study of the mihrab of the mosque of Sidi 'Uqbah at al-Qayrawān.
- 380 FLANAGAN, J. F. "The nature goddess silk at Durham." *Burlington Mag.* 88 (O '46) 241-6, 3 text figs. and 1 plate with 2 figs. The main motif of the silk found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert is newly interpreted as a nature goddess and is thought to be seventh century Byzantine work with Sasanian influence.
- 381 FOCILLON, HENRI (the late). "The meaning of Iranian art." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 131-3. An address given at the annual dinner of the Iranian Institute in 1938 which deals with the work of that institution and the various aspects of Iranian art.
- 382 FOOTE, HELEN S. "Venetian bronze bowl inlaid with silver and gold." *Bull. Cleveland Mus. Art* 33 (S '46) 143-4, 1 fig. Discussion of a bowl in Near Eastern style in Venice made in the first half of the 16th century.
- 383 FRYE, RICHARD N. "Notes on the history of architecture in Afghanistan." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 200-2, with 6 figs. on 2 plates. Discussion of a stupa and a column in the Loghar valley near Kabul and of the town of Shahr-i-Zohak.
- 384 GOETZ, HERMANN. "The early Iranian material in the Bombay Museum." *Bull. Iran Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 14-18, 9 figs. Discussion of a representative collection of antiquities from Susa and Nihavand, from the Susa I to the early Islamic periods.
- 385 HACKIN, JOSEPH (the late). "Incised and carved ivory plaques from Begram, Afghanistan." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 20-1, 3 figs. The ivories from the site of ancient Nikaia found in 1937 by the French expedition are Indian, but some reveal Mesopotamian influences slightly modified in passing through Iran.
- 386 HERZFELD, ERNST. "Damascus: studies in architecture, III." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 1-71, with 149 figs., 87 in the text, the rest on 25 plates. Discusses the Ayyubid *madrasa* and *turba* in Damascus and their problems. Two previous sections were published in *Ars Islamica*, 9 and 10.
- 387 HONEY, W. B. "Tradition and change: reflections on the pottery exhibition of South Kensington." *Burlington Mag.* 88 (N '46) 271-75, with 2 plates. The illustrations of a Persian jar, 13th century, and a Turkish dish, 16th century, help to demonstrate the change of techniques, decorative styles and the economic status of the potter.
- 388 KRAUS, ERNST. "New or recent issues." *Numismatist* (Ja '47) 101. Brief note on a 1945 issue of aluminum-bronze coinage in Morocco.
- 389 LAMBRICK, H. T. "Amateur excursions in archaeology." *Sind Hist. Soc. J.* 8 (Je '46) 45-65. An important article, dealing with a large number of prospective archaeological sites in eastern Sind, and describing briefly some of the significant surface finds.
- 390 LANE, ARTHUR. "Early Hispano-Moresque pottery: a reconsideration." *Burlington Mag.* 88 (O '46) 246-52 with 10 illust. on 2 plates. Discusses luster pottery production in Calatayud (12th century) and Malaga (14th century) and demonstrates that the 14th century pottery of Valencia was tin-glazed and painted in blue or in green-and-purple (but without luster decoration).
- 391 M. J. L. "Physical anthropology in Turkey." *Man* (London) 46 (S-O '46) 128. Review of paper in *Belleten* of the Turkish Historical Society concerning an archeological site in Turkey of Chalcolithic to early Iron Age period.
- 392 NYKL, A. R. "Arabic inscriptions in Portugal." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 167-83, with 1 text illust. and 19 figs. on 4 plates. Corpus of all Arabic inscriptions found in Portugal. Contains a number of new readings.
- 393 OSBORN, WILLIAM CHURCH. "The Kress benefaction." *Metropolitan Mus. of Art Bull.* 5 (O '46) 49-56. The gift of Mr. Kress includes the famous "Anolt carpet" (Persia, first half of 16th century) which is illustrated with four fine photographs.
- 394 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "The architectural survey expedition of 1939." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 170-95, with 27 figs. Excellent photographs of important monuments and of beautiful mountain scenery in Iran with a short account of the expedition's work.
- 395 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "Azerbaijan." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 61-71, 8 figs. A short archaeological history of the Persian province from the prehistoric to Safavid periods. Fine photographs.
- 396 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "Iranian and Armenian contributions to the beginnings of Gothic architecture." *Armenian Quart.* 1 (summer '46) 125-72. Well illustrated.
- 397 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "The national museum in Teheran." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 78-101, with 25 figs. Discusses the building (designed by A. Godard), its various collections and historically important pieces. Well illustrated.
- 398 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "A note on Abū Zayd." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 120. Raises the question whether a number of signed and unsigned pieces of pottery dated between 582 and 604 A. H. could have been made by the potter Abū Zayd al-Kāshānī.
- 399 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "A note on porcelain in Persia." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 119-20, 1 fig. Discussion of a

- waster of blue-white porcelain of the early 17th century found in Kashan, now in the Pope collection.
- 400 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "Representations of living forms in Persian mosques." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 125-29, 6 figs. Lists instances where representations of animals and persons are to be found in mosques and mausoleums (dating from the early 14th to the 20th centuries), although this is strictly against the religious law.
- 401 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM. "A Sasanian three-ivan audience hall." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 28-9. Analysis of the cliff painting of Dukhtar-i-Nushirvan (Afghanistan) which is interpreted as a Sasanian garden palace.
- 402 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM and ACKERMAN, PHYLLIS. "An unpublished Sasanian silver dish." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 50-7, 3 figs. Analysis of a silver dish in the possession of Mr. Joseph Brummer, New York, and iconographic study of its tree design.
- 403 PRZEWORSKI, STEFAN. "An Iranian motive in Transcaucasian prehistoric art." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 11-3, 2 figs. A bronze plaque of the animal-conqueror found in central Georgia and attributed to ca. 600 B.C. is traced back to Luristan prototypes.
- 404 RICE, D. TALBOT. "The cave of Shapur and Sasanian painting." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 30-4, 3 figs. The carefully smoothed surfaces of the outer cave chamber are thought to have been decorated with (now lost) Sasanian paintings, perhaps identical with those described by Ištakhri. A postscript by P. Ackerman points to the parallel of the rock painting of Dukhtar-i-Nushirvan (Afghanistan).
- 405 ROWLAND, BENJAMIN, JR. "The dating of the Sasanian paintings at Bamiyan and Dukhtar-i-Nushirvan." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 35-42, 10 figs. The paintings are attributed to the period of Khusrav II (early 7th century) on numismatic and other archaeological evidence.
- 406 SALJŪQI, FEKRĪ. "Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Rafiqi Haravī." (in Persian) *Āryānā* (Kabul) 4 (Asad 1325) 20-1. Proposes the identification of the above-named calligrapher with Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who worked at Herat in the period of Mīr 'Alī Shīr. A MS. of Mīr Sayyed 'Alī Hamadānī's *Dhakīrat al-Mulūk*, copied by Maḥmūd Rafiqi in A.H. 898 (1492-1493), has recently been acquired by the Herat Museum.
- 407 SERJEANT, R. B. "Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 98-145. Lists all literary references to textile production in Ṭabaristān, Kūmis, Djurdjān, Djibāl, Khurasan, Kuhistan, Transoxiana, Khoresm, Kerman, Seistan, India, Syria, and Cyprus. Two previous sections were published in *Ars Islamica*, 9 and 10.
- 408 STERN, HENRI. "Notes sur l'architecture des châteaux omeyyades." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 72-97, with 24 figs. on 8 plates. Analysis of the special features of the Umayyad castles (square enclosure with round buttressed towers, building unit of 35 m., square court and apartments in repeat arrangement) followed by a discussion of the origins and the influences of these castles.
- 409 VON ERFFA, HELMUT. "A tombstone of the Timurid period in the Gardner Museum of Boston." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 184-90, with 8 illust. on 4 plates. The analysis of the ornamentation and inscriptions of the tombstone leads the author to believe that it was made for the leader of a religious order about 1475 and that it comes from the workshops of Herat stone carvers.
- 410 WILBER, DONALD N. "The ruins at Rabat-i-Safid." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 22-8, 3 figs. A new date (Parthian) is suggested for the fire-temple at Rabat-i-Safid in Khurasan; its primitive squinch important for the history of Persian dome construction. Another structure identified as fort.

LANGUAGE

- 411 BECK, P. EDMUND. "Die partikel 'idhan bei al-Farrā' und Sibawaih." *Orientalia* n.s. 15 (1946) 432-8. A comparison and analysis of the usage of this particle by these two early native Arab grammarians. Contains an excerpt from the *K. ma'ānī al-Qur'ān* of al-Farrā'.
- 412 BRAVMANN, M. M. "Notes on the achievements of mediaeval Arabic philology in the light of modern research." (in Hebrew) *Tarbiṭ* (Jerusalem) 17 (O '45) 43-64. The theories of the early Arab grammarians, asserts the author, have not been sufficiently studied. It is, therefore, unjust to maintain that those grammarians were interested mainly in external linguistic phenomena and that they failed to recognize the full value of syntax and abstract principles.

LITERATURE

- 413 "The poetry of Ḥoseyn Vā'ez Kāshefi." (in Persian) *Āryānā* (Kabul) 4 (Sonboleḥ 1325) 42. The third and fourth *ghazals* from the recently-discovered Kābul MS. of the works of this Persian poet.
- 414 "The *ghazals* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥosein Vā'ez Kāshefi." (in Persian) *Āryānā* (Kabul) 4 (Asad 1325) 27-8. Reproduces samples of the

- ghazals* of the above-named poet, whose work has hitherto been little known. A MS. of his *Lubb-e Lobāb*, copied in Aleppo by a certain Darvish and recently discovered in the Kabul Museum, contains 26 of his *ghazals* and 12 of his quatrains.
- 415 AL-DASSŪQI, MAHMŪD. "At the bottom of the heart." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 4 (N '46) 323-31. A critique of the inadequacy of modern Arabic translation from Western languages, with special reference to Emil Ludwig's *Napoleon*.
- 416 DAYF, SHAWQI. "Kitāb al-Fāshūsh." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 4 (N '46) 361-5. Sketch of the development of the humorous character Qarāqūsh in the *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh* of al-Mamāṭi. Suggests that the Turkish Karagoz may have been derived from Qarāqūsh.
- 417 AL-ḤAMAWI, ṬĀHIR AL-GHASSĀNI. "A manuscript of the *Mujmil fī al-lughah* of Ibn Fāris." (in Arabic) *Al-Muqtaṭaf* (Cairo) 109 (D '46) 281-5. Description of a manuscript, dated A.H. 586, of this hitherto lost work, which was one of the sources employed by the *Lisān al-'Arab*, al-Firūzābādī, and al-Zamakhsharī.
- 418 MEYKADEH, 'ABD OL-ḤOSEYN. "A collection of the literary works of Meykadeh-e Āshtiānī." (in Persian) *Yādgar* (Tehran) 3 (Ag-S '46) 59-70. The life and works of the Persian poets Mirzā 'Abd Allāh called Khalaf, and Mirzā 'Alī Āshtiānī (d. 20 Jumādā I A.H. 1322).
- 419 NEMOY, LEON. "Some Arab tales of King Solomon." *Synagogue Light* (New York) 14 (1946) No. 1: 8, 28-32; No. 2: 4-5, 15-6. Extract in English translation from al-Kisā'ī's *Qisās al-Anbiyā'*.
- 420 NEMOY, LEON. "Some tales of the cock in Arab folk-lore." *Synagogue Light* (New York) 13 (1946) 3-4, 11. Extracts in English translation from Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Kitāb al-Wadīk fī al-Dīk*.
- 421 NŪR, 'ALĪ. "A quarter-hour with Maḥmūd Taymūr Bey." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabī* 7 (1946) 6, 28. This well-known Egyptian novelist concludes that: (a) the novel has become an established Arabic literary form; (b) classical Arabic is the best medium of literary expression, but the importance of the colloquial will increase with the reduction of illiteracy.
- 422 VON GRUNEBaum, G. E. "The Arab contribution to troubadour poetry." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 138-51. Explores the dependency of medieval troubadour poetry on classical and Arabic poetry (especially that of al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf, Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Quzmān) and explains the growth and development of the various types of love poetry.
- 423 WAHBI, YŪSUF. "History of the Egyptian Theater." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabī* 7 (1946) 8-9. Some incidents in the stage career of a well-known Egyptian moving-picture actor. Notable chiefly for impressions of Shakespeare as played in Egypt by itinerant Syrian actors forty years ago.
- 424 WILBER, DONALD N. "Persian village songs." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 151-57. Deals with the "teraneh," its prosody, subject-matter and tunes, with translation of 31 and tunes of 4 (based on the book by Kuhi Kermani, published in Tehran, 1943); adds a short account of the Persian lullaby (*lala, lalayi*) with translation.

BIOGRAPHY AND OBITUARIES

- 425 "Deaths of noted European orientalists during the war." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 208-9. Records the deaths of orientalists in England, France, Germany, Poland, and the United States.
- 426 "Yahyā Khān Mushīr al-Dawlah" (in Persian) *Yādgar* (Tehran) 3 (Ag-S '46) 32-51. Biographical sketch of Yahyā Khān (A.H. 1247-1309), sometime Foreign Minister under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh.
- 427 BĪNAVĀ, 'ABD AL-RA'ŪF. "Mīr Veis: who was he and what were his accomplishments?" (in Persian) *Āryānā* (Kabul) 4 (Asad 1325) 37-44. Short biography of this popular Afghan hero, whom the writer believes to have been born ca. A.H. 1084. (To be continued.)
- 428 BĪNAVĀ, 'ABD AL-RA'ŪF. "Mīr Veis: who was he and what were his accomplishments?" (in Persian) *Āryānā* (Kabul) 4 (Sonboleḥ 1325) 1-8. Continued from the previous number of this journal.
- 429 DWARKADAS, KANJĪ. "Jai Prakash Narain." *Asia and the Americas* 46 (O '46) 557-9. An analysis of the personality and beliefs of this dynamic 43-year-old leader of the Congress Social Party.
- 430 GRAY, BASIL. "In memoriam Laurence Binyon." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 207-9. Obituary of the distinguished British writer and staff member of the British Museum (1869-1943) whose studies and books on the paintings of Asia dealt also with the miniatures of Muslim Persia and India.
- 431 HĀSHEMĪ, ŠADR. "The Khojandī family of Isfahan." (in Persian) *Yādgar* (Tehran) 3 (Ag-S '46) 10-31. A biographical study of this family, which originated in Khojand (in Turkestan) and was almost exterminated at the time of the Mongol conquest of Isfahan. A brief account of the family library and burial place is included.
- 432 HERZFELD, ERNST. "Friedrich Sarre." *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 210-12. Obituary of the founder and former director of the department of Islamic art of the State museums

in Berlin and the eminent author of many pioneering books and articles on the various phases of Islamic art (1865-1945).

- 433 KENDRICK, A. F. "Rhuvo Guest." (in Arabic) *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabi* 7 (1946) 24-5. An obituary dealing with the life and work of the well-known British Arabic scholar.
- 434 AL-ZAHAWI, JAMIL SIDQI. "The essays of al-Zahawi." (in Arabic) *Al-Katib al-Misri* 4 (Ja '47) 639-46. An autobiography of this Iraqi poet, with a list of his works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 435 BALOSHER, M. "Book production in Palestine." *Palestine Affairs* 1 (N '46) 9-10. A brief recapitulation of recent Arab and Jewish publications.
- 436 SARTON, GEORGE. "Sixty-ninth critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science." *Isis* 36 (O '46) 170-248. Arranged by century and subject; copious entries and reviews of material on the Moslem East.

MISCELLANEOUS

- 437 ACKERMAN, PHYLLIS. "Notes on recent Russian research." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4) 7 (1) (D '46) 158-66. The subdivisions are: Prehistoric; Parthian Period; Sasanian and Post-Sasanian Period; the Timurid Period; Safavid Period; Turkoman Carpet Production; New Institutions and Publications; Arabic Manuscripts and Studies.
- 438 BRONSTEIN, LEO. "The documentary survey." *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 166-9. Gives characteristic examples from the documentary archives of the Iranian Institute. In a postscript P. Ackerman gives an example from the Iconographic Index (the *boukranion*).
- 439 NAGAR, M. L. "Nationalisation of library technique." *Indian Librarian* 1 (Je '46) 16-20. An appeal to Indian librarians to devise a scheme of library technique conforming to the best canons of classification and cataloguing, but not slavishly imitating or borrowing from abroad.
- 440 POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM, ed. [Editorials on the activities of the Iranian Institute.] *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 1-10. The various subtitles are: The Institute in War-time; The Institute of Asiatic Economics; Gifts to the Institute; Recent Grants to the Institute.
- 441 RANGANATHAN, S. R. "Library literature in future India." *Indian Librarian* 1 (Je '46) 1-8. The opening article of the first number of a new library quarterly. After a eulogy of the editor, Sant Ram Bhatia, the author describes in a sort of library classification order the types of books and serials he would like to see in Indian libraries.

- 442 WOLFSON, HARRY A. "Atomism in Saadia." *Jewish Quart. Rev.* 37 (O '46) 107-24. Includes the atomic theory of Muslim philosophers (al-Razi, Ibn Rushd, al-Jurjani, and others).

BOOK REVIEWS

- 443 *Athar-e Iran. Annales du Service archéologique de l'Iran, Tome III, fasc. 1.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1938. *Bull. Iran. Inst.* 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 210-12. (Donald N. Wilber). Critical review of M. André Godard's investigations of the Iranian "monuments du Feu" from the Achaemenid to modern times, emphasizing buildings of the Sasanian period.
- 444 *Excavations at Samarra 1936-1939.* Vol. I, Architecture and Mural Decoration. Vol. II, Objects. Baghdad: Iraq Government, Dept. of Antiquities, 1940. *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 203-5. (R. B. Serjeant).
- 445 *Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions, Vol. XI. Moslem World* 37 (Ja '47) 78. (E. E. Calverley).
- 446 *Some notes on the antiquities in the Abbasid Palace.* Baghdad: Iraq Government, Department of Antiquities, 1943. *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 205-6. (R. B. Serjeant).
- 447 *Sumer, a journal of archaeology in Iraq.* I, 1945. *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946) 205. (R. B. Serjeant).
- 448 ABBOTT, NABIA. *Two queens of Baghdad: mother and wife of Harun al-Rashid.* *Middle East J.* 1 (Ja '47) 94-5. (Sidney Glazer).
- 449 ARBERRY, A. J. *Kings and beggars. The first two chapters of Sa'di's Gulistan.* *Moslem World* 37 (Ja '47) 74. (J. Christy Wilson); *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 379-80. (C.A.G.). Translation, with notes, based on the text edited by the late Muhammad Ali Furughi, which, according to the reviewer, is much more reliable than those from which earlier translations were made.
- 450 ARCHER, JOHN CLARK. *The Sikhs in relation to Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and Ahmadiyyas. A study in comparative religion.* *Middle East J.* 1 (Ja '47) 107-8. (Horace I. Poleman).
- 451 ATIYAH, EDWARD. *An Arab tells his story.* *J. Middle East Soc.* 1 (O-D '46) 92-3. (Abdullah H. Kissawi); *Middle East J.* 1 (Ja '47) 99. (Kathleen Peterson); *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 374-5. (E. S. D.). Favorable review of autobiography by Lebanese Arab educated in England who became an Arab nationalist after his return to Near East. "The chief characteristics of the book are its sincerity, its tolerance and its broadmindedness. . . . I commend the book to all whose work lies in Arab lands."
- 452 BIRDWOOD, LIEUT.-COL. THE HON. C. B. *A continent experiments.* *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 33 (Jl-O '46) 375-6. (G. C.) Apparently much more thoughtful and objec-

- tive than one would expect from a cavalry officer. Particular mention is made of the author's discussion of Sikh outlook and of the strong political pressures under which Indian civil servants often labor.
- 453 BONNÉ, A. *The economic development of the Middle East*. **Royal Cent. Asian J.** 33 (Jl-O '46) 372. (W. B. F.). "Detailed picture of present economic life, together with a background of population trends" for Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Egypt, Cyprus. Second part of book "deals with possible future developments under a planned economy," setting up Palestine as model and tending to overlook environmental differences in other countries.
- 454 BRITTON, NANCY PENCE. *A study of some early Islamic textiles*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1938. **Bull. Iran. Inst.** 6 (1-4), 7 (1) (D '46) 210. (Phyllis Ackerman).
- 455 COUPLAND, REGINALD. *The future of India*. See No. 281.
- 456 COUPLAND, R. *The Indian problem. Report on the constitutional problem in India*. London, 1944. 711 pages. *Mirovoye khozyaistvo i mirovaya politika* (Moscow) 21 (Ap-May '46) 87-90. (R. Gurvich). The reviewer, while recognizing Prof. Coupland's expertness in the field of Indian constitutional history, takes issue with him on several major points: his interpretation of the Hindu-Moslem difficulties as attributable to the policy of the Indian Congress and not Great Britain's "divide and rule" policy, his portrayal of British rule as just and humane, his failure to lay the blame for India's economic misery at the door of Great Britain. The review is in Russian.
- 457 DE GAURY, GERALD. *Arabia Phoenix*. **Middle East J.** 1 (Ja '47) 100-101. (Harold W. Glidden).
- 458 DELLA VIDA, G. LEVI. *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*. Vatican, 1935. **Isis** 36 (O '46) 273-5. (George Sarton).
- 459 DER NERSESSIAN, SIRARPIE. *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire: a brief study in Armenian art and civilization*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945. **Art Bull.** 28 (Je '46) 124-5. (Jurgis Baltrušaitis).
- 460 DIWAKER, R. R. *Satyagraha, its technique and history*. **Viśva-Bharati Quart.** 12 n.s. (Jl '46) 76-7. (Nirmal Kumar Bose). Deals with "organized non-violence," Gandhi's contribution to the world scene.
- 461 ELWIN, VERRIER. *Folk tales of Mahakoshal*. **Amer. Anthropologist** 49 (O-D '46) 640-2. (Dorothy M. Spencer). Stories collected from 15 tribes and castes in Central Provinces of India. "Stresses principally the historical aspects of folklore, and the distribution of motifs over a wide area."
- 462 ELWIN, VERRIER and RIVALE, SHAM-
RAO. *Folk-songs of the Maikal hills*. **Amer. Anthropologist** 49 (O-D '46) 642-3. (Dorothy M. Spencer). Collection of 619 folksongs of the Gond of central India.
- 463 GLUECK, NELSON. *The river Jordan*. **Middle East J.** 1 (Ja '47) 102. (Harold W. Glidden).
- 464 HAAS, WILLIAM S. *Iran*. **J. Middle East Soc.** 1 (O-D '46) 88-9. (A. S. E.); **Jewish Quart. Rev.** (1946) 435-9. (Cyrus Gordon); **Middle East J.** 1 (Ja '47) 104-5. (T. Cuyler Young).
- 465 HAMZAVI, A. H. *Persia and the powers*. **J. Middle East Soc.** 1 (O-D '46) 96. (N. N.).
- 466 HIRSCHMANN, IRA A. *Life line to a promised land*. **Middle East J.** 1 (Ja '47) 97-8. (Harvey P. Hall).
- 467 HOURANI, ALBERT H. *Syria and Lebanon: a political essay*. **Middle East J.** 1 (Ja '47) 98-9. (Robert D. Sethian).
- 468 KAFADARIAN, K. and NERSISIAN, M. *A history of the Armenian people: textbook for intermediate schools, pt. 1*. Yerevan: Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1944. 246 pages. (In Russian). **Sovetskaya kniga** 6-7 (Je-Jl '46) 47-50. (A. Ionisiani). The reviewer takes the compilers to task for failing to divide the history of Armenia into periods "according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism," idealizing the kings of Armenia as the bearers of the idea of Armenian independence, overlooking the class struggle in the historical development of the country, and disregarding the importance of the church as a cultural rallying-point for the people.
- 469 KOHZĀD, AHMAD 'ALĪ KHĀN. *Ta'rikh-e Afghānestān [History of Afghanistan]*. (in Persian). **Āryānā** (Kabul) 4 (Sonbole 1325) 44-8. (M. Ghobar). Laudatory notice of the first history of Afghanistan to be written by a native scholar using a modern historical approach. The author studied in Rome and Paris and was attached to the French archeological mission in Afghanistan. Part one of this work, which will comprise several volumes, has recently been published in Kabul by the Maṭba'at-e 'Omūmī.
- 470 KREIDER, HERMAN H. *First steps in modern Turkish*. **J. Amer. Orient. Soc.** 66 (O-D '46) 327. (Sidney Glazer).
- 471 LACEY, PATRICK. *Fascist India*. **Royal Cent. Asian J.** 33 (Jl-O '46) 377-9. (G. C.). Reviewer adds his own discussion of the Northwest Frontier Province in relation to Pakistan. The book is written from the point of view of a Punjabi Muslim, and not only favors the establishment of a Pakistan, but proposes a buffer state of Imparsia around Delhi, in the government of which the Sikhs would be prominent, and which would be the seat of a federal government representing Muslims and Hindus equally.

- 472 LONGRIGG, STEPHEN H. *A short history of Eritrea*. **Moslem World** 37 (Ja '47) 76-7. (E. E. Elder).
- 473 LUGOL, JEAN. *Le panarabisme*. **J. Middle East Soc.** 1 (O-D '46) 93-4. (Maxime Piha).
- 474 MAMEDOV, SH. "Notes on the history of political thought in Azerbaijan." (in Russian) **Bolshevik** 23 (Je '46) 83-8. A review of the first volume of the Publications of the Institute of Philosophy of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences (Baku, 1945, 59 pages), comprising papers on the cultural relations between the USSR and Azerbaijan, the philosophical and social ideas of Nizāmi Ganjawi (1141?-1203) and of the Arab philosopher al-Nazzām (9th century).
- 475 MUSTAFI, ABDULLAH. *Tarikh Ijtima'i va Idari daura Qajariya* [Administrative and social history of the Qajar Period]. An autobiography. Vol. I, A.D. 1774-1894; Vol. II, A.D. 1894-1919; Vol. III (in press) to present. (in Persian). **Royal Cent. Asian J.** 33 (Jl-O '46) 380. (Unsigned). Material gleaned from family papers and supplemented by personal autobiography.
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- 491 VASILIEV, ALEXANDER A. *The Russian attack on Constantinople in 1860*. **Amer. Hist. Rev.** 52 (Ja '47) 308-9. (George Vernadsky).
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NEW PUBLICATIONS

- Indian Librarian* (Lahore).
- Palestine Affairs: An Information Bulletin on Palestine and the Middle East* (New York).
- Journal of the Middle East Society* (Jerusalem).

ABBREVIATIONS

ENGLISH

Acad., Academy
 Amer., American
 Bull., Bulletin
 Cent., Central
 Contemp., Contemporary
 Dept., Department
 East., Eastern
 Geog., Geographical
 Gt. Brit., Great Britain
 Hist., Historical
 Illust., Illustrated
 Inst., Institute
 Internat., International
 J., Journal

Mag., Magazine
 Mod., Modern
 Mus., Museum
 Natl., National
 Numis., Numismatic
 Orient., Oriental
 Pal., Palestine
 Philol., Philological
 Polit., Political
 Quart., Quarterly
 Res., Research
 Rev., Review
 Soc., Society
 Stud., Studies
 Trans., Transactions

ARABIC

K., Kitāb
 Maj., Majallah, Majallat

ITALIAN

Mod., Moderno

RUSSIAN

Akad., Akademii
 Fil., Filosofii
 Ist., Istorii
 Izvest., Izvestiya
 Lit., Literaturi
 Otdel., Otdeleniye
 Ser., Seriya
 Yaz., Yazika

A New International Periodical

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The first two issues, February and June, 1947, contain:

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WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 Mount Vernon Street
 Boston 8, Massachusetts, U. S. A.

The Conference on Middle East Affairs

Approximately one hundred members of The Middle East Institute and invited guests took part in the Conference on Middle East Affairs held in Washington on Friday and Saturday, February 14 and 15. This, the first such event to be sponsored by the Institute, afforded members of the organization an opportunity to meet in a body, discuss some leading current problems, consider the Institute's program and, in many instances, renew personal contacts, some of them begun in the Middle East.

The Conference opened under the general chairmanship of C. Grove Haines, with a brief statement from George Camp Keiser, founder of the Institute, on the purposes and aims of The Middle East Institute. These were amplified at the luncheon meeting marking the close of the Conference by Halford L. Hoskins, Director of the Institute. After recounting the circumstances under which the Institute was set up and the reciprocal relations existing between the Institute and the School of Advanced International Studies, Dr. Hoskins spoke of plans for developing the Institute's program to include graduate courses, Middle East language studies, research, and fellowships and grants-in-aid for advanced study both in this country and in the Middle East. Harvey P. Hall then commented on operations involved in the publishing of *The Middle East Journal*, of which he is Editor.

The other main sessions of the Conference dealt with the following topics:

OIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Chairman, George C. McGhee, Special Assistant to the Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs. Speakers, Wallace Murray, formerly Ambassador to Iran, and Max W. Thornburg, Oil Consultant.

ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST (Dinner Discussion). Chairman, Halford L. Hoskins, Director of The Middle East Institute and the School of Advanced International Studies. Speaker, Ephraim A. Speiser, Professor of Semitics, University of Pennsylvania. Showing of *Color Film on Iraq and Iran*. Commentary by Edwin M. Wright, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State, and Lecturer on Middle Eastern Affairs, School of Advanced International Studies.

MIDDLE EAST STUDIES IN GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE CURRICULA. Chairman, John Van Antwerp MacMurray, formerly Ambassador to Turkey. Speakers, Mortimer Graves, Administrative Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies; Walter L. Wright, Jr., Professor of History, Princeton University; Edwin M. Wright, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State, and Lecturer on Middle Eastern Affairs, School of Advanced International Studies.

Since most of the talks were off-the-public-record, the proceedings of the Conference will not be published. They are on deposit in the Library of the Institute, however, where they can be consulted by members of the Institute and other authorized persons. A perusal of these proceedings gives strength to the conviction that the purpose to which The Middle East Institute is devoted is fundamentally sound: namely, the promotion of better understanding between the United States and the countries of the Middle East. The Conference brought into relief the fact that the Middle East area is one of the most crucial in the testing of any plan for world peace, and the closely related fact that the world position of the United States depends in considerable measure on the perspicacity with which Middle East problems are handled.

The success of the Conference in highlighting some of the principal issues in American foreign policy and educational programs relating thereto underlies the intention of the Institute to sponsor a similar Conference at approximately the same season each year. These Conferences will be held conjointly with the regular annual meetings of the members of The Middle East Institute.